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Aridor to put tax bite on Israel Corp. deal

Jerusalem Post Staff
Finance Minister Yoram Aridor yesterday told the cabinet he would prepare draft legislation for its consideration next week to revoke tax-exemption benefits for the Israel Corporation. The corporation has a controlling interest in the oil refineries and the Zim Navigation company among other investments.

The move comes while the Clal investment corporation is awaiting Treasury permission to obtain a controlling interest in the Israel Corporation, mainly by acquiring the shares held by three banks: Hapoalim, Discount and Mizrahi.

The Israel Corporation was created by the government in 1968 to try to encourage foreign investment. As an incentive, the corporation received special large tax exemptions for 30 years, granted under a law passed especially for that purpose.

The Treasury has decided to abolish the corporation's tax exemptions, because its acquisition by Clal would result in local investors benefiting from tax incentives designed for foreign investors. Treasury sources said yesterday that, unless the benefits are withdrawn, Clal could start raising capital by taking advantage of the Israel Corporation's special status.

At yesterday's cabinet session, all the ministers except Energy and



American volunteers Alan Cohen and Benjamin Israhvili yesterday work on a Merkava tank tread under the direction of an Armoured Corps sergeant, as fellow volunteer Ricky Chernov looks on. They are three of some 1,000 foreign volunteers expected to help out at Israel Defence Forces emergency-stores bases this summer. (Elihu Harari)

PLO mediators seek to heal rift with Syria

DAMASCUS (AP). — PLO mediators set out yesterday to try to patch up a major rift with the Syrian government and settle the most serious internal crisis in the movement's history.

Six members of the PLO's executive committee met at midday to plan their strategy for resolving the disputes, which have led to fighting between rival PLO groups and the expulsion from Syria of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat.

A shaky cease-fire between the rebels and loyalists in Lebanon's Bekaa valley held yesterday, following renewed battles Saturday in which six persons were reported killed.

Khaled Fahoum, chairman of the Palestine National Congress, told reporters the group of six would first try to mediate the dispute within the PLO's mainline Fatah faction between supporters and opponents of Arafat's moderate policies and then heal the rift with Syria.

Fahoum said he was seeking a

Egyptian embassy rents residence for ambassador

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Egyptian embassy has rented a new residence for its ambassador, although there is no Egyptian ambassador here since last September. The new residence is a three-story stone-faced building in Herzliya Pituah, near the Tadmor Hotel, and the lease for the building is for five years.

The decision by Cairo to rent such a building with a long-term lease is seen by observers in Jerusalem as an indication that a new Egyptian ambassador might indeed be appointed in the foreseeable future.

Egyptian Ambassador Saad Mortada, who was recalled last September, in the wake of the mas-

Syrians said wanting to talk with America

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Israeli policymakers seemed frankly surprised yesterday at the news that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz would be visiting the Middle East this week. The secretary's decision appeared to mean that despite recent American pessimism, Shultz believes there is hope for movement in Damascus on a Lebanon withdrawal deal.

Shultz's itinerary takes him first to Saudi Arabia, then to Israel (arriving here on Wednesday night), and then to Syria. (Some sources in Damascus said Shultz was expected there tomorrow.)

Highly placed Israeli sources said last night that Syria seemed to want a dialogue with the U.S. They could not surmise, however, what terms, demands and conditions the Syrians would put forward.

These sources said there had been intensive contacts over recent days between the U.S. Embassy in Damascus and the Syrian Foreign Ministry. Israel has apparently not been apprised of the substance of these contacts.

In addition, the sources said, there had been a "flurry of diplomatic to-ing and fro-ing" by the Saudi Arabians — also apparently in connection with the Lebanon crisis.

In Jerusalem the preparations to receive the secretary of state are clouded still by last week's sudden controversy with Washington over the "suggestion," voiced by Special Envoy Philip Habib, that Israel unilaterally provide a timetable for its full and final withdrawal from Lebanon.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir stressed at the cabinet yesterday that there had been no such American "proposal" — only ideas or suggestions that the Israeli side had summarily shot down.

Some Israeli officials were inclined to blame Habib personally for this unpalatable American suggestion, seen here as a wholesale departure from the basic principle of simultaneous Israeli-Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon.

But Prime Minister Menachem Begin was quoted as pointedly dissociating himself, in remarks at the cabinet, from Kol Yisrael radio reports that Jerusalem regarded Habib as an irredeemable failure as U.S. special envoy.

Nevertheless, Israeli anger and frustration at the Americans are barely concealed in some government circles. Indeed, sources close to Begin recently told *The Jerusalem Post* that the main reason for Begin's long months of public silence was his conviction that if he delivered a substantive political speech, he would have to make a bitter and scathing attack on U.S. policy in the Middle East. Rather than pick a fight, these sources said, Begin preferred to stay silent.

The sources indicated that Begin regarded U.S. diplomacy over Lebanon during the winter and spring as a six-month saga of misguided policy and missed opportunity.

The agreement that Secretary Shultz had wrapped up in a week of shuttling in May, they said, could have been attained a half year earlier (former defence minister Ariel Sharon negotiated a similar package with President Jemayel's envoys in December) — if Washington had not deliberately dallied in the vain hope that King Hussein of Jordan would agree to peace talks.

Washington fondly nurtured the notion of meshing the Lebanon settlement into a wider Middle East negotiation based on the Reagan Plan.

Indeed, according to this theory, the Reagan Plan itself, or at least its timing, was designed to rebut Arab accusations of American collusion with Israel in the Lebanon war.

Begin, the sources recalled, warned U.S. Defence Secretary

Bank investment in media is fact of life, says Aridor

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Finance Minister Yoram Aridor said at the weekly cabinet session yesterday that "investment by banks in the news media is gradually becoming a fact of Israeli life."

Aridor made this comment after Interior Minister Yosef Burg said the day was past when the media were controlled by political parties, by family, companies or by cooperatives.

Burg said that, one of the Big Three banks in this country (Leumi, Discount and Hapoalim) had a considerable investment in what was growing into a powerful opinion-shaper, the *Rehov Rashi* (Mao Street) chain of local newspapers. (*Rehov Rashi* plans to establish news-

McEnroe takes second Wimbledon singles title

Jerusalem Post Staff
LONDON. — Second seed John McEnroe yesterday demolished up-seeded New Zealander Chris Lewis, 6-2, 6-2, 6-2, to take his second Wimbledon singles tennis title.

Appearing in his fourth successive Wimbledon final, the left-handed American regained the title he lost last year to Jimmy Connors.

Health Ministry hospital workers to strike tomorrow

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter
A 24-hour warning strike scheduled for tomorrow will seriously disrupt work in government hospitals, Health Ministry district health offices and the ministry's main office in Jerusalem. Fifteen thousand administrative and service workers plan to stay away from their jobs to protest against delays in the implementation of the Padeh Commission recommendations pairing the salaries and working conditions of ministry employees with those of their counterparts in the Histadrut's Kupat Holim Clalit.

Further disruptions are likely as the country's 900 X-ray technicians open a strike today, affecting all hospitals, neighbourhood clinics and other medical institutions, such as the Hadassah Medical Organization.

The technicians will decide today at a national meeting in Tel Aviv whether to extend their strike for "a few days" or to end it after 24 hours, union chairman Naim Ramati told *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

"This is an old dispute and has nothing to do with the doctors' agreement. We are still pressing for a reduction in our working hours, an increase in the number of job slots, and an improvement in safety procedures for technicians," he said.

Tomorrow's planned strike by the administrative and service workers will virtually paralyze government hospitals, which will be staffed only by doctors and nurses. No admissions or discharges will be made, hospital laundries will be closed and only a minimal food service will be available.

District health offices and the ministry's main office will be closed to the public for the day. No tests will be performed on food or water samples, and the institute of forensic medicine at Abu Kabir will work on only a "very limited basis."

Transportation will not be provided for public-health nurses who work at mother-and-child care stations (*Tipat Halav*) in rural settlements.

The Padeh commission was established in 1971 by then Health Ministry director general Dr. Baruch Padeh to investigate ways to redress the disparity in the salaries and benefits of the two groups. Its first set of recommendations, submitted in 1972, proposed pay increases in several areas, including telephone and car allowances, to bring ministry employees' wages up to the level of those paid by Kupat Holim Clalit for identical positions.

The commission has existed and held meetings for over a decade, but no real progress has been made on implementing the recommended reforms. This is mainly because of objections by the Finance Ministry, a leader of the Health Ministry's staff committee told *The Post* last night.

"Our warning strike has nothing to do with the doctors' strike. In fact, we waited until the doctors' strike was over before pressing our demands, to avoid placing an additional burden on the health-care system," he said.

Meanwhile, a week after the cabinet decided to take the disputed issues in the doctors' strike to an arbitration panel, the Israel Medical Association is still holding intensive discussions to choose its arbitrator. A final decision on the list of acceptable candidates is expected tomorrow.

"This is not an easy matter. It's not so simple to find a well-respected public figure who is totally objective and not subject to pressure by the Treasury," one IMA leader said last night.

Zamir raps those who say Baranes innocent

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Anybody who says that Amos Baranes is innocent is attacking the integrity of the Israeli judicial system, Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir said yesterday.

In a statement issued by the Justice Ministry, Zamir said that recent reports describing Baranes' commutation of sentence as proof that the Acre man is innocent of the murder of Rachel Heller "harms the Israeli court system." He reiterated that Baranes' conviction for the murder still stands, adding that Baranes has the right to ask for a new trial but that the recently released convict has not yet done so.

Zamir said it was "unjustified and irresponsible" to describe Baranes as innocent as long as the convic-

Begin told: stop outcry over 'desaparecidos'

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent
A leading South American rabbi has urged Prime Minister Menachem Begin to mute Israel's public intervention on behalf of Jewish *desaparecidos* (disappeared persons) in Argentina.

Rabbi Henry Sobel of Sao Paulo, Brazil, told the premier on Friday that for Israel to focus on the estimated 10 per cent of Jews among the 15,000 *desaparecidos* could be counter-productive and dangerous for Argentine and South American Jewry. "Rather than solving a Jewish problem, this could create one," Sobel told Begin.

In an interview later with *The Jerusalem Post*, Sobel said he supported protests by Israel and by American Jewish organizations. However, he said, these should be directed at the issue of the *desaparecidos* as a whole, couched in terms of universal human rights, and should not single out the Jewish component of the issue.

He said the vast majority of Argentine Jews did not regard the Jewish *desaparecidos* as a "Jewish problem" — that is, a problem of persecution of Jews as Jews. And most Argentine Jews did not wish Israel or American Jewish organizations to regard it as such.

Rabbi Sobel, European-born and U.S.-educated, is spiritual leader of the Congregacao Israelita Paulista in Sao Paulo, a liberal congregation numbering 2,500 families. He visits Argentina more than a dozen times each year and travels extensively throughout South America.

"The truth is," he says, "the Jews

Shultz pessimistic as he returns to Mideast

By BARRY SCHWEID
ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (AP). — Doubting he can gain a breakthrough, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz hurriedly made plans yesterday to fly to the Middle East to try to persuade Syria to withdraw its troops from Lebanon.

He acknowledged to reporters that despite the efforts of three American mediators already in the area, "we are struggling to make progress."

Shultz said he did not see "any real prospect" of a breakthrough. But other U.S. officials said he was compelled to go because the Syrians had refused to talk to Philip Habib, the top American mediator.

Shultz has had a mission to the Middle East in the back of his mind for some time. But his plans were being put together so hurriedly that on the eve of his departure U.S. officials were not certain if he would fly to Jeddah or to Taif, Saudi Arabia, tomorrow to see King Fahd.

The other stops planned are Lebanon, Syria and Israel, with Shultz's talk with President Hafez Assad in Damascus by far the most important of his meetings with Middle East leaders.

"At this point we don't have a reading on the Syrian situation and we very much want to get one," Shultz said.

Syria has refused to negotiate a

Lewis: U.S. not stopping IDF redeployment

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The rumour that the U.S. is keeping Israel from redeploying the Israel Defence Forces in Lebanon is absolutely false, Ambassador Samuel Lewis told *The Jerusalem Post* in an exclusive interview in the Fourth of July Supplement, distributed with today's issue.

Admitting that the U.S. is an "interested party," Lewis said that the decision on an IDF move will be "based on Israeli considerations."

He added that he would like to see Israel regain the freedom of maneuver that it enjoyed 20 and 30 years ago. Israel's diplomatic dependence on the U.S. creates "an extra tension" and is "destabilizing" for both countries, the ambassador says.

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| | MIN | MAX | Cloud |
|----------------|-----|-----|--------|
| AMSTERDAM | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| BRUSSELS | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| CHICAGO | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| COPENHAGEN | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| FRANKFURT | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| GENEVA | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| HELSINKI | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| HONG KONG | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| JOHANNESBURG | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| LONDON | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| MADRID | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| MONTREAL | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| NEW YORK | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| OSLO | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| PARIS | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| RIO DE JANEIRO | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| SAO PAULO | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| STOCKHOLM | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| TOKYO | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| TORONTO | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| VIENNA | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |
| ZURICH | 10 | 20 | Cloudy |

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THE WEATHER

| | Yesterday's | Today's |
|-------------|-------------|---------|
| Jerusalem | 40 | 35-45 |
| Golan | 67 | 15-25 |
| Nahariya | 54 | 20-28 |
| Safed | 39 | 15-26 |
| Haifa Port | 38 | 21-27 |
| Tiberias | 32 | 21-27 |
| Nazareth | 48 | 18-28 |
| Afula | 44 | 19-29 |
| Shomron | 40 | 18-27 |
| Tel Aviv | 55 | 21-28 |
| Be'er Sheva | 50 | 20-28 |
| Jericho | 41 | 19-33 |
| Gaza | 65 | 21-27 |
| Beersheva | 34 | 17-30 |
| Eilat | 18 | 23-36 |

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Thirty-two Zalman Shazar Fund grants were awarded yesterday to a ceremony at Beit Hanassi, in the presence of President Chaim Herzog, to outstanding students who had worked as volunteers in various Histadrut-sponsored social and community programmes. Twenty-three of the grants were awarded to students of Sephardi backgrounds, five to students of American and European origin and four to Israeli natives.

Hebrew Union College, the Reform movement's Jerusalem institution of higher education, on Saturday night awarded Hebrew University Professor Nathan Rotenstreich an honorary Ph.D.

The Richard Colbert Lester Memorial sports field was dedicated yesterday in a ceremony held at Na'amat's Ayanot agricultural high school in the presence of the donor, Mrs. Naomi Lester, Na'amat secretary-general Masha Lubelsky, friends and relatives of the donor, staff and students of Ayanot.

Mr. Yoav Nizan will continue his talk on "India" at the weekly meeting of Jerusalem West Rotary at 7:00 tonight at the King David Hotel.

The Organization Dept. of the WZO announces the opening of the Third Faye Schenk Memorial In-Service Training Programme for senior professionals in Zionist organizations and greets the participants: David Black, ZOA, N.Y.; Len Fink, American Zionist Federation, N.Y.; Vivian Goldstein, APL, N.Y.; Jon Labashin, Bnai Zion, N.Y.; Pearl Lipshutz, Australian Zionist Federation; Aileen Novick, Pioneer Women/Na'amat, N.Y. and Micky Sherker, Canadian Zionist Federation.

ISRAEL CORP.

(Continued from Page One)

by the issue of stock. Treasury approval is required.

The three banks agreed to sell Clal their combined 54 per cent share of Israel Corporation's equity last week, and the deal received the tacit approval of the Finance Ministry. However, when the matter came up for approval last Friday, Andor decided to postpone his decision "indefinitely."

Together with Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Discount holds 17 per cent of the Israel Corporation. Hapoalim holds 20 per cent and Mizrahi holds 17 per cent.

Clal sources said yesterday that they would discuss at today's meeting ways to convince Andor to change his mind, including an application to the High Court of Justice.

PLO

(Continued from Page One)

meeting with 'Abdul-Halim Khaddam, Syria's foreign minister and deputy premier. PLO sources said efforts were also underway to arrange a meeting with Nimr Saleh, also known as Abu Saleh, one of the principal leaders of the revolt against Arafat's leadership.

HOME NEWS

'Limited' dig begins today in Area G

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Archaeologists begin probing Solomonian and Davidic Jerusalem today after a permit was issued yesterday for a "limited" dig in the City of David's controversial Area G.

Under an agreement reached between the Education and Culture Ministry and archaeologist Yigal Shilo, the dig's director, the excavations will be confined to the east by a row of stakes laid down last year along a line marking the border of an ancient Jewish cemetery, according to leaders of the Haredi community. The line was drawn on the basis of a 10-year-old aerial photo showing a pedestrian track purportedly delineating the cemetery's border.

The permit was described as "limited" by an aide to Education

and Culture Minister Zevulun Hammer, who said in an interview that the dig was also to be held in strict bounds on the northern side. Hammer said the ministry had consulted with rabbinical authorities before authorizing its Antiquities Department to issue the permit.

Shilo told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the dig this year will be in the same boundaries as last year's excavation in Area G. He said he had not asked for an extension of the boundary this year so that the limitations written into the permit did not actually inhibit his work. He said the agreement made it clear that the area is to be restored as part of the archaeological park to be developed in the City of David.

Excavations in other sections of the City of David got underway two weeks ago. The dig is to continue until mid-August. This is the sixth

consecutive year that excavations are being carried out in the City of David, the original site of Jerusalem.

Robert Rosenberg adds: Unsigned wall posters in Mea She'arim call for a mass demonstration and civil disobedience against the dig.

Mea She'arim activists in the extreme wings of the Eda Haredit reportedly have long sought a confrontation with the police that would result in a mass arrest. Photographs taken at violent demonstrations in which the police make arrests in the Haredi community are often used in fundraising brochures distributed overseas.

A senior police officer emphasized that police would take "all necessary steps" to protect the licensed dig.



Jerusalem school pupils collecting outside the Employment Bureau yesterday in search of jobs for their summer vacation.

NRP would like its own deputy agriculture minister

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The National Religious Party wants to have a deputy minister of agriculture. This emerged in the cabinet yesterday when the appointment of the two existing deputy Ministers of Agriculture, Pessah Grupper and Michael Dekel, was reconfirmed.

The reconfirmation became necessary because Grupper and Dekel were appointed as deputies to the late Agriculture Minister Simha Ehrlich, and their terms lapsed, strictly speaking, with Ehrlich's death. Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who is acting agriculture minister, asked for the two to be reappointed as his deputies.

During the very brief discussion in the cabinet on the reappoint-

ment, Interior Minister Yosef Burg said that he assumed the permanent appointment of a permanent agriculture minister would leave only one deputy minister. (Pessah Grupper is expected to become the minister, since the Liberal wing of the Likud to which he belongs has the right to that cabinet portfolio.)

Burg said that the NRP is responsible for more than 100 farming villages, including kibbutzim and moshavim, and hence it was high time that a farmer-Knesset Member from the NRP, Eliezer Avtobi, be given a post of importance for a farming sector that had never had such representation.

At a time of continuing tension inside the NRP, Burg's proposal is expected to have the effect of drawing Avtobi closer to Burg's Lamifneh wing of the party.

Terrorists fire at IDF roadblock

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — Terrorists fired at an Israel Defence Forces roadblock near Kfar Shima, south of Beirut, yesterday morning from a parked car. Soldiers at the post fired back. No one was hit.

At the Ein Hilwe refugee camp near Sidon, a bomb weighing 10 kilograms was discovered inside a water jerrycan. IDF sappers safely dismantled the device.

Eighteen members of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee yesterday visited Southern Lebanon. Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy and OC Northern Command Aluf Amir Drori briefed them on the situation. They visited the UNIFIL zone, Alek, Bhamdoun, Beirut and the Bekaa valley.

Several hundred old-timers, who work occasionally as volunteers at IDF bases in the North, will visit Lebanon today. They will meet Major Sa'ad Haddad and visit the Beaufort.

Iraqi foreign minister visits Egypt

CAIRO (AP). — Iraq's Foreign Minister arrived in Cairo yesterday on the first public visit by a top Iraqi official here since most Arab states voted to boycott Egypt for making peace with Israel.

Tarek Aziz was greeted by his Egyptian counterpart, Kamal Hassan Ali. The two ministers immediately headed for Alexandria for a meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

"It's not important to look at the shape of relations. It is important to look at the substance. Relations are good now," Aziz told reporters at Cairo International Airport.

Aziz said he was carrying a verbal message from Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to Mubarak. He did not disclose its contents. When asked whether he would discuss military cooperation with Mubarak, Aziz said all matters would be discussed.

IDF to help set up youth camps in Lebanon

METULLA (Itim). — The Israel Defence Forces will help set up summer camps for children in Southern Lebanon this summer, especially in the area controlled by Major Sa'ad Haddad. The IDF intends to help with instructors but not financially, as it did in past years.

Many Southern Lebanese youngsters will visit the Galilee Panhandle, kibbutzim in the area and Haifa and Tel Aviv this summer. They will meet their Israeli contemporaries during their visits.

WIZO. — WIZO entered the computer age yesterday when its Rishon LeZion branch opened its first 30-hour course to acquaint members with using a computer. Similar courses will open in Ramat Aviv and in Petah Tikva in the coming days.

3 killed, 14 injured in weekend road accidents

Three persons were killed and 12 were hurt in road accidents around the country over the weekend.

On Friday, Levi Ofer, 18, an Israel Defence Forces private from Moshav Revava, was fatally injured when the car in which he had been given a ride overturned on the old Sharon highway. He died on the way to hospital. The driver of the car, who was slightly injured, was held for questioning.

Early yesterday, a 25-year-old resident of Ramle was killed and two other persons were seriously injured when their car overturned on the Ramle-Beit Dagan road.

Sameh Nezzal, a four-year-old girl from the village of Kabatiya in the Jenin district, was killed when

struck by a lorry yesterday. The driver was arrested.

In four other accidents in the Sharon area, a total of 11 persons were hurt, three of them seriously.

The twisted remains of a car damaged in a road accident will go on a tour of Haifa's downtown, Hader and Central Carmel quarters later this month as part of a road-safety drive by the municipality. Other car-crash wrecks will be on display at centres in Bat Galim, Derech Bar-Yehuda and the car park of the sports auditorium in Romema.

The municipal spokesman said the aim of the exhibits is to show drivers and pedestrians the consequences of carelessness on the roads.

Histadrut delaying demand for new wage increases

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Histadrut's top forum, the central committee, yesterday decided to delay presentation of demands for wage increases following the raises promised to the doctors.

Several trade unionists demanded the increases after learning that the doctors were promised an average raise of 60 per cent. The framework agreement, the Histadrut signed several months ago, provided for a 22 per cent increase.

However, summarizing yesterday's central committee meeting, Secretary-General Yeroham Meshel said the labour federation will wait until an arbitrator decides the outstanding issues with the doctors such as over how many years the doctors will get the promised raises.

In a clear attempt to gain time, Meshel praised "most" union secretaries for their "reasonable and responsible" conduct during the four-month doctors' strike, when the unionists said they would not press for more money if the poorly paid doctors won "reasonable" raises.

In a call for unity among the 15 Histadrut-affiliated unions, Meshel said that only by sticking together will they succeed. "We shouldn't think each one is on his own," he said, "grabbing as much as he can," the secretary-general warned.

Most trade unionists, including some who had already sounded war trumpets, seemed to go along with this policy. Mordechai Gani, of the Union of Graduates in Social Sciences and Humanities, said that he will wait for the arbitration award.

Guard on Pakistan's N-reactor stepped up

ISLAMABAD (Reuter). — Presi-

dent Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq said yesterday that Pakistan had taken precautions to guard its nuclear facilities after receiving information that an attack might be made on them.

He said the name of Israel "did come up" in connection with a possible attack such as Israel carried out on an Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1980.

Zia, speaking to reporters who accompanied U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to Pakistan, said Pakistan took seriously a report published in the London *Observer* newspaper last January that Israel and India planned to take out Pakistan's nuclear facilities. But he said India was not involved.

"There has been categorical information there were countries who were suspicious, very apprehensive of Pakistan's nuclear programme and had thought of taking an action similar to one that Israel took in Iraq," he said.

He said Pakistan had responded

by gearing up its defence installations.

"Israel's name did come up," he said. "Nobody else would do that." Pakistan has been widely suspected of seeking the capability to set off a nuclear blast. It is said to have a plant at Kahuta, near Islamabad, to produce highly enriched plutonium.

But Zia said Pakistan had no intention of conducting an atomic explosion.

HIJACKING. — Two Cuban refugees were arrested by the Havana police Saturday after hijacking a U.S. airliner to Cuba — the fifth such seizure in nine weeks. The Pan American World Airways Boeing 727, on an internal Florida flight with 65 passengers and six crew, later flew back to Miami.

EXODUS. — Only 102 Jews were permitted to leave the Soviet Union last month, bringing the total for the first six months of this year to 62. That number is less than half of the total of emigrants during the same period last year. During the year of emigration in 1979, an average of 4,000 Jews left the USSR each month.



This dead sea turtle washed up on Zikim Beach near Ashkelon on Friday.

(Leora Cheshin)

SYRIANS WOULD TALK

(Continued from Page One)

Caspar Weinberger on August 31 that the Reagan Plan would be still-born, that it gave the PLO what amounted to a veto over peace negotiations. "But it took them half a year to learn, the hard way, that he was right."

By the time King Hussein's refusal roused the U.S. from its reverie, the sources continued, the Soviets had ensconced themselves more deeply in Syria, and the Syrians, with their army and air force refurbished, were much less amenable to the idea of a negotiated withdrawal from Lebanon.

On a more current note, there is also resentment in Jerusalem at Washington's distinct lack of enthusiasm over Israel's plans for a "redeployment" of the IDF southwards in Lebanon. Government officials stress that Israel will act according to its security interests as it perceives them — even if the U.S. does not endorse this perception.

Primary among these perceived interests are the protection of IDF soldiers from terrorist attacks, the need to disengage from the policing role in the Shouf mountains, and the need to reduce the IDF deployment in Lebanon and resume regular training activities inside Israel.

Cabinet sources maintained yesterday, however, that American opposition to the projected "redeployment" was in fact being exaggerated by the news media here and in Washington. The cabinet sources believed that the U.S. was

resigned to Israel's intention to redeploy. They said "coordination" was proceeding "not on whether to redeploy, but on how and where."

Begin told the cabinet yesterday that he was arranging a consultation between ministers and IDF generals later this week on the various alternatives for a new line in Lebanon. (There will be no movement on the ground, however, before the prime minister's talks with Reagan in Washington July 27.)

The cabinet sources noted that the incidence of attacks on IDF units in Lebanon had abated of late — thanks, they said, to measures taken by the IDF, and also to "luck." This meant, in political terms, that the pressures on the government to make the redeployment had eased, and the various options could be carefully considered.

They predicted, though, that eventually Begin and his top ministers would decide on a phased pullback to the River Awali line. This, they said, would represent the 45-kilometre "national consensus line," and it ought therefore to be supported by the Labour opposition.

They said the new line would enable the IDF to maintain more effective control of traffic passing to South Lebanon from the north. (They did not say whether barbed wire fences were contemplated along the new line of deployment.) This would help further reduce terror attacks on the remaining IDF units in Lebanon, the sources hoped.

Faithful petition court for Temple Mount prayer

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Faithful of the Temple Mount group yesterday applied to the High Court of Justice for an order nisi calling on Jerusalem police commander Tat-Nitzav Rahamim Comfort to show why he should not permit them and other Jews to pray freely beside the Moghrabi Gate of the Temple Mount.

The application was filed after an

earlier request for rights to pray on the Temple Mount itself was rejected by the court.

The application said that the restrictions placed by police on Jewish prayer at the Moghrabi Gate constitute an abasement of the Jewish people.

A movement spokesman said the police have been limiting the number of Jewish worshippers next to the gate to 15.

IDF: Kahane won't serve on West Bank

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Israel Defence Forces spokesman declared last night that "There is no danger that (Rabbi Meir) Kahane will serve in the West Bank" during Kahane's period of reserve service, due to start tomorrow.

The spokesman's statement came after Kahane, head of the Kach movement, sent a telegram to Defence Minister Moshe Arens saying that he will "react with maximum force against any Arab act that threatens me with bodily harm" during his reserve service.

In Loving Memory
The 20th Yearzeit of my beloved father
YAAKOV KALMAN
who died at the age of 66.
Son — Dr. Shlomo Mechel Kalman and family

On the 30th day after the passing of our beloved
LENI MITTWOCH
We will meet at her grave to unveil her tombstone on Wednesday, July 6, 1983, at 5 p.m. at the Kfar Samir Cemetery, Haifa.
Our sincere appreciation to our condolers.
The Family

In great sorrow, we announce the death of my dear husband, our father, grandfather and brother
Dr. MAX STEIGBUEGEL
Deeply mourned by
Wife: Lotte
Sons: Dr. Daniel Shouvel and Family
Dr. Micha Steigbügel and Family
Sister: Lilly Herbstman and Family, Dijon
Haifa, 80/a Horeb Street
The funeral will take place today, Monday, July 4, 1983, at 11.00 a.m. at Kfar Samir.

To our manager
Prof. P. Vardi
We share your deep grief on the passing of your
Mother
Barzilai Medical Centre
Management and Board
The unveiling of the tombstone of
Rabbi CHARLES B. CHAVEL
of Jerusalem, will take place on Thursday, July 7, 1983 at 9 a.m. Hahaim Cemetery at Beit Shemesh.
A bus will leave from Azei Habira, Bldg. 49 at 8 a.m.

IDF training courses improved

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Israel Defence Forces have been training less than previously, because soldiers have been busy in Lebanon, according to the outgoing head of the IDF training branch, Aluf Uri Simhoni. But a new training programme will reduce the time needed to prepare recruits.

Simhoni told military correspondents that training bases had been empty part of the time since Operation Peace for Galilee but he did not reveal by how much the training programmes had been curtailed. He maintained that the drop in fatal training accidents was due to the fact that units have been training less.

To compensate for this fall-off in training, the IDF has been sending to the field mobile units with highly sophisticated training aids. Trucks with such devices are now in Tel Aviv for the IDF exhibition to open on Thursday.

Simhoni, who is leaving for Washington tomorrow to take up his post as military attaché, said the IDF was revamping its entire training programme to make courses easier to cope with. However, training will not be safer, and compared with the programmes of other armies the IDF's will continue to be the most dangerous. Trainees want to simulate real war situations as closely as possible, he explained.

Simhoni said that the IDF learns from accidents. Following one fatal incident it dropped a certain requirement for trainees. Details of that incident cannot be revealed.

The new training programme was devised with the help of Yehonatan Smilanski, psychology and education expert at the Hebrew University.

The programme was first introduced in a basic-training course. Some three months ago the General Staff decided to extend the programme to all basic-training courses.

Eventually, other programmes will be amended. The goal is to institute the change throughout the IDF by 1985, reporters were told.

The teams preparing the programme decided what the

trainee had to know, dropped unnecessary material and added new subjects. They also decided trainees must practise the material they have learned at the end of each chapter rather than the end of the course. Thus, when trainees reached the final stage they did not find themselves trying during their first time in the field to apply all they had learned.

The results in one course had shown that the programme could be shortened from 15 weeks to 11 and that soldiers with poor marks fared better, since they had more opportunities to rehearse.

In some ways life will be easier for new recruits: volunteers for reconnaissance units, naval commando or similar tough units will undergo only one admissions test. If they are rejected their files will be transferred to another unit. Thus, if they cannot reach a crack unit they will — it is hoped — not feel dejected when they reach a regular combat unit.

The IDF decided also not to over-exert new recruits because results are better if exercises are gradually intensified.



President Chaim Herzog lays a wreath yesterday at Yad Vashem. In the background (left) is Yad Vashem Council chairman Gideon Haassner. (Rahamim Israeli)

President finds personal links in Yad Vashem visit

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

His two-hour tour of Jerusalem's Yad Vashem yesterday was a personal one for President Chaim Herzog. He was reminded by photographs of his participation in the liberation of Bergen-Belsen, and he found documents attesting to the death of a cousin in the Holocaust.

The president was accompanied by Dr. Yitzhak Arad and Gideon Haassner of the memorial authority.

At the Hall of Names, where the names of three million of the six million Jewish victims of the Holocaust are catalogued, Herzog asked for testimony documenting the death of his cousin, Aona Helene Goldberg, a native of Paris, who died in a concentration camp at the age of 22. The file was quickly produced.

Having last been to Yad Vashem two years ago, the president yesterday had his first look at the recently opened Holocaust art wing, where works created by victims in the camps and by survivors who recalled the horrors are exhibited.

At the end of his visit, Herzog said it is "mandatory" for every Jew to see Yad Vashem, because it helps "put our lives and problems in the proper perspective." In addition, he said, a visit to Yad Vashem "helps us appreciate the country better and learn the importance of protecting the country against internal divisions and not only against external threats."

As tourists looked on, Herzog rekindled the memorial flame in the Hall of Remembrance and a cantor recited a memorial prayer.

Video card games to play their last hands

The police will soon close video-game parlours that feature card games, following yesterday's rejection by the High Court of Justice of a petition filed by 13 video-parlour operators in Haifa and the north. The petitioners had asked the court to forbid the police to interfere with their "freedom of business."

Justice Meir Shamgar, relieving president of the court, and Justices Menahem Elon and Hanna Eynor announced that they would give their reasoned judgments at a later date. However, the justices strongly criticized the petitioners for concealing such information as the fact that 11 of them did not have licences to operate their businesses. The court fined the petitioners

IS260,000 in costs (IS20,000 each). Justice Shamgar told the petitioners that if he had not discovered that so many of them were operating without licences, he might have awarded them an injunction against the police to permit them to stay open. The petition arose after Haifa police told the businessmen to remove the card games from their premises. The operators argued that the card games were imported legally and do not represent gambling, since each player plays only against himself for points, with no money changing hands. The petitioners also complained that the police action "harmed the principle of free commerce." (Itim)

Thousands at reunion at Haifa technical school

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Thousands of former pupils returned to the Bosmat Junior Technical College in the Hadar quarter yesterday to celebrate its jubilee.

They heard headmaster Aryeh Gur describe the trials and successes of the college since it was established by the Technion in 1933, as the country's first trade school. During the War of Independence,

Lawyers urge IDF to name jurist as top judge

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. (Itim) — The central committee of the Bar Association has decided to urge the government to appoint a jurist as president of the Israel Defence Forces' court of appeals and to discontinue the "tradition" of appointing a non-legal officer to the post.

The association's decision, said chairman David Liba'i, was taken in view of the impending departure from the post of Aluf Haim Nadel. The defence and justice ministers are reportedly considering Nadel's

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Belz men fail to join Civil Guard patrol

By MICHAEL ELIAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Members of the Belz Hassidic group did not show up last night for the joint Civil Guard patrols intended to restore peace between the non-religious and ultra-Orthodox residents of Jerusalem's Mekor Baruch neighbourhood.

A Civil Guard base was opened in the neighbourhood yesterday after a reconciliation meeting in City Hall between the contending groups of the neighbourhood. The meeting was held three days after a second tear-gas grenade was thrown at the home of the Belzer Rebbe, Rabbi Yissachar Dov Rokeach, in Mekor Baruch and tension in the neighbourhood rose to what one resident called "unprecedented" heights.

Leaders of Tzelem (Youth for Mekor Baruch) and members of the Belz community, who comprise most of the area's ultra-Orthodox residents, took part in the meeting with Jerusalem police chief Tzitzav Rahamim Comfort and deputy mayor Yosef Gadish.

Both non-religious and Orthodox residents spoke of their desire to restore peace to the small neighbourhood near the centre of Jerusalem.

During the meeting Uri Amedi, chairman of the secular community centre said a Civil Guard base was to be opened in the neighbourhood yesterday evening. Members of both camps, he said, were to patrol the streets with a walkie-talkie but no arms, and inform the police of any disturbances.

But the Belz Hassidim did not turn up at the community centre at 8 p.m. yesterday to join the Civil Guard. Yisrael Eibler, a spokesman for the Belz community, said yesterday: "We showed our good will by not reacting to the grenade attacks on our rabbi. It's the police's job to keep the peace."

Robert Rosenberg adds: "The man police suspect of throwing the tear-gas grenade last week at the home of the Belzer Rebbe is a Satmar resident of New York with a history of violence, police sources said yesterday. They added that the suspect left the country for the U.S. the day after the incident."

Police sources said that they are "90 per cent certain" that both tear gas grenades in Mekor Baruch were thrown by Satmar Hassidim.

Ir Ovot settlers join Satmar

By LIORA MORIEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ERSHEBA. — The five families of Ir Ovot in the Arava, have recently become followers of the Satmar Rebbe.

They say they are no longer Zionists and are rumoured to have turned the Israeli flag to make their own. Shlomo Wolf, of Haifa, head of the "Ir Ovot" religious organization, which has 70 settlements around Israel, said that these families will continue to get the organization's help "like everyone else."

Five houses will soon be built, he said. Ir Ovot settlers are living in aravans.

At the same time, a new settlement will be established nearby using Ir Ovot's options for more land and water quotas. The area is potentially cultivable and has a

2nd Reform kibbutz inaugurated in Arava

By LIORA MORIEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

EILAT (Itim). — Kibbutz Lotan was inaugurated yesterday in the Arava, near the Mitze Rimon-Arava road crossroads.

This eighth Arava kibbutz, about 55 kilometres north of Eilat, was established by Reform Movement Jews from the U.S. Kibbutz Lotan has some 50 members, equally divided between the sexes. Its 280 dunams will be used for growing cucumbers, tomatoes, onions and melons.

More classical music on First Programme

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Kol Yisrael yesterday began broadcasting a two-hour classical music concert on its First Programme on the AM band from 7:30 to 9:30 a.m. This follows complaints from listeners who cannot hear Kol Hamusika because they do not have FM receivers.

A second AM-radio classical music concert can be heard every day on the First Programme after the 4 p.m. news bulletin.

Haifa orchestra says city reneging on funds

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The chairman of the Haifa Symphony Orchestra Trust, Ephraim Drucker, accused the municipality yesterday of failing to fulfil its obligations and financial commitments to the orchestra.

He said the orchestra is jointly financed by the municipality and the Education and Culture

Ministry. The ministry had paid its share in full, but the municipality still owes about IS2.8 million. As a result, the orchestra finished the 1982/83 fiscal year with a deficit for that amount.

Drucker also complained about the municipality's higher charges for the auditorium in Central Carmel. The orchestra paid IS24,500 to hire the building for a morning rehearsal and IS67,000 to stage an evening performance. "I think these prices in general are very high, particularly when you consider the auditorium is never used in the mornings," he said.

Drucker said the orchestra's budget for the coming year 1983/84 was IS47 million — an increase of IS30 million over the previous year. The bulk of the money will again come from the Education and Culture Ministry and the municipality, with the orchestra paying 30 per cent of the costs. He said the orchestra's contribution was much higher than that of similar institutions in Israel and abroad.

Aviv opens

Jerusalem Post Reporter

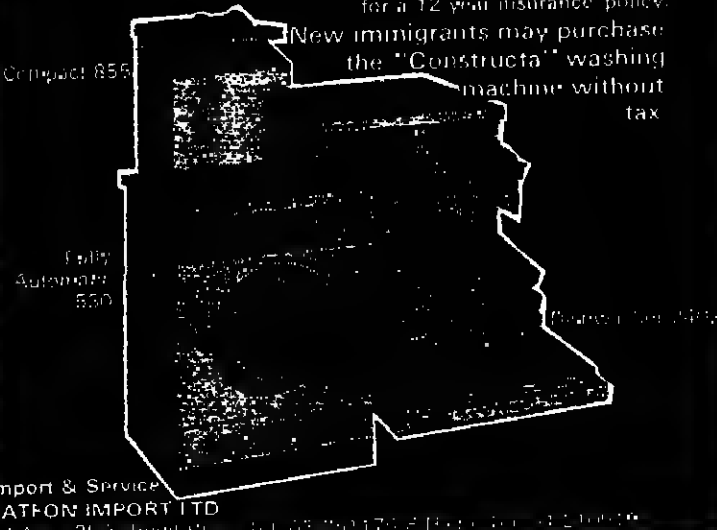
TEL AVIV. — Another stage in the Ayalon highway project was completed yesterday with the opening of the La Guardia Street bridge to two-way traffic.

The 100-metre-long bridge took 18 months to build and cost IS80 million. It is one of 12 bridges that cross the highway, which will eventually allow north-south traffic to bypass Tel Aviv.

The Ayalon project, begun in 1972, is scheduled for completion in 1987.

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Go-ahead for park near Hadera power station

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HADERA (Itim). — The Finance Ministry yesterday authorized the allocation of IS600 million for the establishment of a park near the power station here. The park is meant to compensate residents of the area for ecological damage done by the station.

The idea for the park, which will cover some 750 dunams, was conceived by the director-general of the Interior Ministry and the chairman of the National Council for Planning and Construction. The park is expected to be ready in three years.

Judges appointed in TA

Jerusalem Post Staff

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim has appointed Hanna Eynor president of the Tel Aviv District Court. Judges Shmuel Kwart, Avraham Halima, Mordechai Ben-Dror and Eliyahu Vinograd were appointed relieving presidents.

Former court president Binyamin Cohen and judges Yitzhak Shilo and Haim Dvorin have retired.

Netanya cracks down on unlicensed vendors

Jerusalem Post Staff

NETANYA. — The police, backed up by the Civil Guard, plan to remove all vendors from the local open market by this evening. Of some 350 vendors, only 150 have been allocated stalls in the market. The 150 vendors must pay the municipality a IS13,000 annual licence fee by this morning in order to take possession of their stalls.

Captive vulture hatches

Jerusalem Post Staff

RAMAT GAN (Itim). — A vulture chick was hatched yesterday at the Ramat Gan Zoological Centre, the first such hatching at the zoo. Vulture breeding in captivity is extremely rare, with only four chicks reported hatched last year in the world. The country's vulture population has been declining in recent years, apparently due to the birds' consumption of poisoned carrion.

DISAPPEARED PERSONS

(Continued from Page One)

are doing well in Argentina and Brazil. Many of them have 'made it' professionally or economically. There is full religious and cultural freedom.

"The fact is that Latin American Jews have learned to coexist with dictatorships, even those with anti-Semitic overtones. And they don't want to be 'rescued'."

"This is not to say that Latin America is a bed of roses for Jews. Anti-Semitism in Argentina is very real, and Jews are often singled out for special torture by the military government. However, to suggest that the reign of terror is essentially anti-Semitic can only compromise the already precarious conditions of Argentine Jewry."

So far, Sobel added, Israel's efforts had not embarrassed or prejudiced the Jews in Argentina. "But if it is carried further, it could put Argentine Jewry in a very uncomfortable position."

He said Begin had listened to him attentively for close to an hour — both on this issue and on his contention that Israel gave insufficient thought and attention to Brazil, the growing superpower of the continent. Begin said he would confer with Shamir on the Israeli approach to Argentina.

Highly placed Israeli sources have told *The Post*, meanwhile, that the views and perceptions of Argentine Jewish leaders — which were basically as Rabbi Sobel described

them — did influence Israel in deciding on how to handle the *desaparecidos* issue.

Said one key source: "If the Jews were to call on us to shout — we would shout. Our arms-sales relations with Argentina would not stop us. But the Jewish community there do not want us to shout. It is easy enough for us here to condemn them, as Knesset Member Tsaban seemed to do. But we are not in their shoes." (Knesset Members Yair Tsaban of Mapam, Goula Cohen of Tehiya, and Liberal Dror Zaigerman criticized the government last week for not interceding loudly and forcefully enough with the Argentine government.)

At the same time, the source insisted, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir had acted as vigorously as diplomatic practice and prudence permitted on behalf of the Jewish *desaparecidos* — more vigorously than any of his predecessors at the Foreign Ministry, Labour or Likud (the abductions began in 1976), and more vigorously than almost any other country whose own nationals were among those kidnapped and presumed murdered.

Regarding the arms-sales relationship, which is often cited by critics of the government in this connection, the highly placed source noted that "other countries are queuing up" to sell arms to Buenos Aires. If Israel ceased selling, its place would quickly be taken by other countries.

2nd Arab bus in week burned in Hebron area

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

For the second time in less than a week an Arab-owned bus was set alight and destroyed in the Hebron area soon after attacks on Israeli vehicles.

Late Saturday night, a bus parked in the centre of Hebron near an area sealed off by the Israel Defence Forces following a grenade attack on a military vehicle on Friday evening was destroyed by fire.

Police later found empty gasoline cans and rags near the scene, and have no doubt that the fire was the result of arson.

However, they are also considering the possibility of ordinary criminal rather than a political motivation for the attack since some spare parts apparently were removed from the bus before it was set alight.

Last Thursday, another Arab-owned bus was burned in the

refugee camp of Al Arub on the main Hebron-Jerusalem road. This followed an earlier stone-throwing attack on an Egged bus in which two women were slightly injured.

After that attack people identifying themselves as residents of the Jewish suburb of Kiryat Arba outside Hebron said that they were responsible for the arson.

In Saturday night's incident, the same people did not claim responsibility for the attack. But they were the first sources for the Kol Yisrael radio report yesterday morning, and they stressed the proximity of the attack on the military vehicle and the burning of the bus.

The leaders of Kiryat Arba said yesterday that some 80 electric pylons set up by the Hebron municipality near the Jewish settlement were illegal, and that all the settlement's complaints to the military government on this score have been unavailing.



The Arab bus which was burned last night in Hebron, about 300 metres from where an explosive charge was thrown at an Israel Defence Forces officer. (Gershon Ellinson, Zoom 77)

Zorea doesn't want to be areas coordinator

Jerusalem Post Reporter

ALUF (res.) Meir Zorea, who reportedly was being considered as the next coordinator of activities in the administered territories, said yesterday he did not want the job.

Zorea told Defence Minister Moshe Arens he wanted to continue being the defence establishment's comptroller, the minister's news media adviser said.

New guideline prices given for dental work

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Israel Dental Association, with the approval of the Health Ministry, has issued an updated list of "recommended" prices for dental care. The prices, effective June 30, are not binding on dentists, but represent what the association feels are the "acceptable and reasonable fees charged by most dentists and dental clinics."

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Some of the new fees (including YAT) range from: IS325 to IS630 for a checkup; IS75 to IS120 for a single X-ray; 540 to 1,150 for a regular filling; 370 to 1,000 for an extraction; 870 to 3,400 for root-canal work; 5,000 to 10,000 for a crown.

CLINICS.

Medical services for the Beduin in northern Israel will be improved soon with the building of five new Kupat Holim Clinics at a cost of IS6 million.

ZAMIR

(Continued from Page One)

think about the political system in this country, nobody can doubt that we have an independent judicial system that has integrity. When questions are raised about the integrity of the judicial system, it's the same as raising questions about the democratic system in the country. And that is very, very dangerous," said one senior ministry source.

In a development related to Baranes' claims of innocence, the ministry yesterday denied that Deputy Attorney-General Yehudit Karp had once recommended giving Baranes a retrial, irrespective of the outcome of a perjury trial related to the case.

The ministry said that Karp had recommended considering a retrial for Baranes only if then-police officer Shaul Marcus, the man who headed the investigating team and brought Baranes to trial, was proven in court to have lied about some aspects of the way Baranes' confession was obtained. Marcus was convicted in a lower court and the Supreme Court overturned the conviction.

The ministry statement reiterated that Baranes still has the right to seek a new trial. The procedure involves making a formal request to the president of the Supreme Court, who then decides if there are grounds for a retrial.

APPEAL to Mr. Hans van der Broek, Dutch Foreign Minister who is visiting Israel today

— The traditionally good relations between Holland and Israel should be strengthened and deepened.

— Now is the time to transfer the Dutch embassy, which was moved to Tel Aviv in 1980 under Arab pressure, to Jerusalem, the capital and governmental centre of Israel. Many Dutchmen would welcome this.

— The Dutch government should fulfil its promise to Parliament to put pressure on Syria, within the framework of the EEC, to withdraw its troops from Lebanon.

This appeal was sent to the Dutch government by C.I.D.I., Centre for Information and Documentation on Israel in The Hague, P.O.B. 11648. All major Dutch Jewish organizations are represented in C.I.D.I.

250 Zairean commandos to battle Chad rebels

N'DJAMENA (Reuters). — A contingent of 250 Zairean commandos arrived at N'Djamena airport yesterday to support Chadian government forces against Libyan-backed rebels, officials said.

"The commandos are Zaire's modest contribution to (Chadian President) Hissene Habre, whose country is under attack," Zaire's ambassador to Chad, Linga Linga, said.

Official sources said a squadron of Zaire Air Force fighters would arrive later to back up the commandos, the first foreign troops to be sent to help Habre's beleaguered and ill-equipped army.

The commander of the Zairean force was named as Colonel Amela Lokima, who was the senior officer of Zaire's contingent in an organization of African Unity (OAU) peace-keeping force which left Chad in June 1982.

It was not immediately clear whether the commandos, one of three such battalions in Zaire's army, would be sent directly to the northern front or would remain in the capital.

Government troops suffered a serious defeat 10 days ago when they lost the strategic northern town of Faya-Largeau to the Libyan-backed rebels of Goukouni Oueddei.

Libya denied helping ex-president Goukouni and warned foreign states not to intervene in Chad's internal affairs.

So far, Habre's main support has come from France which has sent some 200 tons of military equipment under the terms of a defence agreement with Chad.

Several African states have denounced Libya's alleged role in the conflict and a succession of senior African ministers have visited N'Djamena in the last two weeks to declare their full backing for the Habre regime.

Goukouni told French journalists in Faya-Largeau that he would continue his battle for Chad following the capture of the town.

The former president was quoted as saying in the French newspaper *Libération*: "Our victory at Faya-Largeau is only one stage in the liberation war that we have undertaken."

Sudanese guerrillas still may execute 5 Westerners

NAIROBI. — Sudanese guerrillas demanding more than \$95,000, clothing and medicines by Wednesday have not repeated their threat to kill five Western hostages, but diplomatic and missionary officials believe the ultimatum stands.

"There seems to be a tacit understanding that the death threat remains in force," a missionary spokesman said yesterday. He declined use of his group's name.

The hostages include two Americans, a Canadian, and a Dutchman, all missionaries, and a West German mechanic with a wildlife project. They are being held at Boma, site of a Presbyterian mission and a national park in southeastern Sudan, about 30 kilometres from the Ethiopian border.

Negotiations between the Liberation Front for Southern Sudan, a little-known group, and diplomatic and missionary representatives were reported over the weekend to be progressing.

A report between the two sides reportedly has developed in recent days with diplomatic sources describing talks as "quite friendly." A missionary spokesman said negotiations have been on an "even keel."

The hostages, they said, were holding up well under the ordeal. "There has been no indication that anyone in the group was in less than good shape," said one diplomat in Nairobi.

In related news, 10 Portuguese, including five children, arrived in Lisbon yesterday after their release by Angolan guerrillas who held them captive for more than three months.

The 10 — some of African descent, others who had lived in the former Portuguese colony for many years — looked tired but in good health on their arrival from Johannesburg. (AP, Reuters)

Majority approves of Reagan's performance

NEW YORK (Reuters). — More Americans approve of President Ronald Reagan's performance in office than disapprove of it. But a majority of the people still feel that he does not deserve re-election, according to a *New York Times/CBS* news poll published yesterday.

It said 47 per cent of the people surveyed approved of Reagan's job performance and 39 per cent disapproved. He had not enjoyed a positive rating in the poll since January 1982, when 49 per cent approved and 38 per cent disapproved.

Reagan's favourable rating among men rose by 9 per cent in the latest poll but showed virtually no change among women. Among men, 57 per cent approved compared with only 39 per cent of the women.

Asked if Reagan deserved re-election, 42 per cent of the 1,365 people polled said yes and 31 per cent no.

In the contest for the Democratic presidential nomination, former vice-president Walter Mondale was preferred by 34 per cent and Senator John Glenn of Ohio by 32 per cent.

'Optimistic' Gaddafi ends Morocco visit

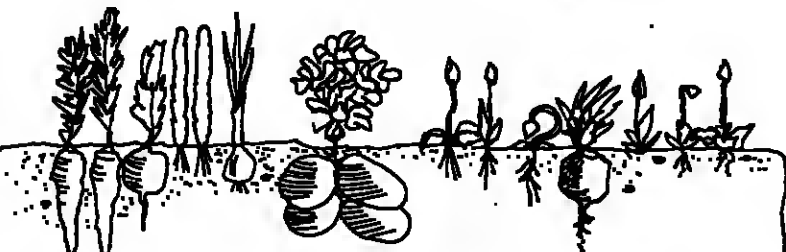
RABAT (AP). — Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi left Morocco yesterday after a four-day "friendly working visit" that included a series of meetings with King Hassan II. It was the first visit to Morocco by Gaddafi in 14 years.

Libyan sources said the talks centred Gaddafi to "clarify" the relations between the two countries and constituted the beginning of a closer cooperation in all areas.

"Col. Gaddafi is optimistic," was the source's only comment.

Relations between Libya and Morocco have been anything but warm. Gaddafi openly supported two assassination attempts against Hassan in 1971 and 1972, and since 1976 Libya has given arms and financial support to the Polisario guerrilla movement that is fighting for independence in the former Spanish Sahara, now annexed by Morocco.

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Kohl due in Moscow today

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Federal German Chancellor Helmut Kohl arrives in Moscow today for what are likely to be the last high-level talks on the nuclear arms issue before new American missiles are deployed in Europe later this year.

The chancellor's visit will almost certainly be the last meeting between the Kremlin chiefs and a Western leader before deployment of 572 U.S. Cruise and Pershing missiles begins in December.

Western diplomats said Andropov and other Soviet leaders were likely to use the occasion to make a last effort to shake the German Federal Republic's commitment to the new weapons.

The diplomats said the Soviet leaders could adopt one of two different tactical approaches.

The first would be a tough line warning Kohl that deployment of the new weapons would mean the stationing of new Soviet weapons in the German Democratic Republic and a cutback in the booming trade links between Moscow and Bonn.

There have been recent signs that Moscow could be preparing to be hard on Kohl. In the past few weeks the Soviet press has sharply criticized his administration, something rarely done in advance of a visit by a government leader.

Argentina tries to buy better missile

LONDON (AP). — Argentina was reported yesterday as trying to buy a new French missile, with a greater range than the 63-kilometre Exocet weapon that hit three British ships in the Falklands War.

The talks with France began after Argentine military experts spotted the 200-km. Otomat missile at the Paris air show last month. *The Daily Mail* of London reported. It predicted a "huge Anglo-French row if the deal goes ahead."

The new missile is developed jointly by Matra of France and Oto-Melara of Italy. Like the Exocet, it flies just above the sea, seeking its target with radar.

Reagan in scandal over 1980 election trick

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — President Ronald Reagan has become ensnared in a scandal over the methods used in achieving his success in a television debate with Jimmy Carter just before the 1980 presidential election.

A new book about Reagan reveals that in October 1980, someone on Carter's re-election staff gave someone on Reagan's staff hundreds of pages of briefing papers designed to prepare Carter for the crucial televised campaign debate with Reagan.

The papers eventually reached Reagan campaign aide David Stockman, now the top White House adviser on budget policy, who admits he found them "useful" in rehearsing Reagan for the event.

The key questions, to be pursued in an investigation by a Democratic-run House of Representatives subcommittee and the Justice Department, with FBI assistance, are these:

• Was any law broken in the transfer of the Carter documents or is the violation one of ethics alone?

• How was the material obtained? By chance, from a disgruntled Carter aide? By subterfuge and theft encouraged by Reagan aides?

• Did money change hands? Were favours offered?

• Who handed it over? Was it more than one person?

• Who accepted it? Was it Reagan campaign manager William Casey, now director of the Central Intelligence Agency, who says he remembers nothing about the affair?

At a news conference dominated by the issue last Tuesday, Reagan said he had never heard of the Carter papers until the story broke and that they had no bearing on his performance.

The President asserted that the row was "much ado about nothing." On the question of legality, the president suggested that some dis-

gruntled Carter aide might have provided the papers unasked. "Is it 'stolen' if someone hands it to you?" Reagan asked.

On the ethics of political campaign spying, he stated: "No, I think politics should be above reproach and there shouldn't be unethical things done in a campaign."

But he went on to insist that his own aides had done nothing improper.

Whatever investigators now turn up, the affair is a classic example of the impact the Watergate scandals had upon U.S. politics.

A week ago, White House aides were scoffing at the charges and saying any comparison with Watergate was preposterous.

This weekend, as Reagan was on holiday in California, White House spokesman Larry Speakes was asked again his view of Watergate parallels.

"That is a very broad question," Speakes replied. "I have no judgment until the facts come out."

Caribbean leaders meet in Trinidad

PORT-OF-SPAIN, Trinidad (Reuters). — Community heads of state from 12 English-speaking Caribbean (CARICOM) nations start a three-day summit here today to discuss ways of combating the effects of world recession and accelerating economic integration.

Caribbean leaders see the conference as an opportunity to forge stronger trade links and overcome political differences that have threatened to divide the group.

The fourth summit in 10 years comes as its members face overwhelming debt and balance-of-payments problems.

The last summit, held in November at the Jamaican resort of Ocho Rios, was overshadowed by ideological conflicts. Countries led by Barbados and Jamaica attempted unsuccessfully to pressure Marxist-ruled Grenada into holding elections.

Although political issues are expected to play a less prominent role here, some leaders have called for the community to take a stronger stand on foreign affairs.

CARICOM foreign ministers meeting recently in Antigua resolved to discuss threats to security in the region and gave full backing to the Latin America peace effort in Central America.

Host Premier George Chambers of Trinidad, the group's wealthiest member thanks to substantial oil reserves, said the summit would take decisions on regional development issues.

The gasoline exploded like a bomb, sending some shoppers running to the rear of the store and others, their bodies in flames, to the parking lot.

At least four of the injured suffered burns over 100 per cent of their body and were in critical condition, including a 5-year-old girl.

FOR VISITING ACADEMICS
The International Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization
Office of the President of Israel announces a lecture in Jerusalem on:

The Freedom of the Individual and the Authority of the State in Modern Jewish Political Thought

presented as part of the Center's Workshop on University Teaching of Jewish Political Studies, on Tuesday, July 5, at 8.00 p.m.

Lecturer: Prof. Uriel Tal, Dept. of Jewish History, Tel Aviv University

Chairman: Prof. Daniel J. Elazar, Dept. of Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.
For invitations, call Florida Goldberg, (02) 699032/699036, between 9.00 a.m. and 1.00 p.m.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Kuwaiti cites religion in battle against herpes

KUWAIT (AP). — The Health Ministry has stepped up a campaign against herpes, a virus disease marked by watery blisters on the skin, mouth, lips or genitals.

Health Minister Dr. Abdul-Rahman Awadi said yesterday there were 500 herpes cases in Kuwait, with the number increasing at the rate of 15 per month.

He strongly urged Kuwaitis to avoid sexual perversions when they travel abroad, citing extra-marital sexual contact as a possible source of the virus.

"Immunity against herpes rests in abiding by the teachings of our (Islamic) religion, in staying away from women and adultery, and in scrupulously observing hygienic methods," he told an audience here.

Rightist death squad kills 2 in El Salvador

SAN SALVADOR (Reuters). — A rightist death squad in El Salvador said on Saturday that it had gone on maximum alert against leftist guerrillas, and punctuated its statement by dumping two bodies in San Salvador.

The bodies, of a man and a woman, were found by police in the parking lot of a hotel. A coroner reported that they had been beaten and strangled and had notes tied around their necks saying they had been killed by the Secret Anti-Communist Army (ESA).

The ESA, a rightist death squad that has been underground for the past year, resurfaced two months ago when it murdered a suspected guerrilla and left his body in front of another hotel in the Salvadoran capital.

Third World disappointed by UNCTAD

BELGRADE (Reuters). — A four-week world economic conference ended yesterday with Third World delegates deeply disappointed about its failure to narrow the gap between rich and poor countries' views of how to solve world economic problems.

The U.S. dissociated itself from the final statement of the sixth UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the meeting failed to issue a planned declaration that was to have been a special feature of the gathering of more than 150 countries.

The conference closed with a five-hour plenary session at which a series of compromise resolutions on aid, trade, finance, debt and commodities were adopted.

Liechtenstein ruler steps down at 77

VADUZ (AP). — Prince Franz Josef II von und zu Liechtenstein, 77, the longest-reigning monarch in Europe, will abdicate in favour of his 38-year-old son, Crown Prince Hans Adam.

Von Liechtenstein, 77, announced his decision to step down at a ceremony marking his 45th anniversary as leader of this tiny European state, nestled between Austria and Switzerland.

In officially naming his son as successor, von Liechtenstein said the crown prince "is united with the history of this land and with its people."

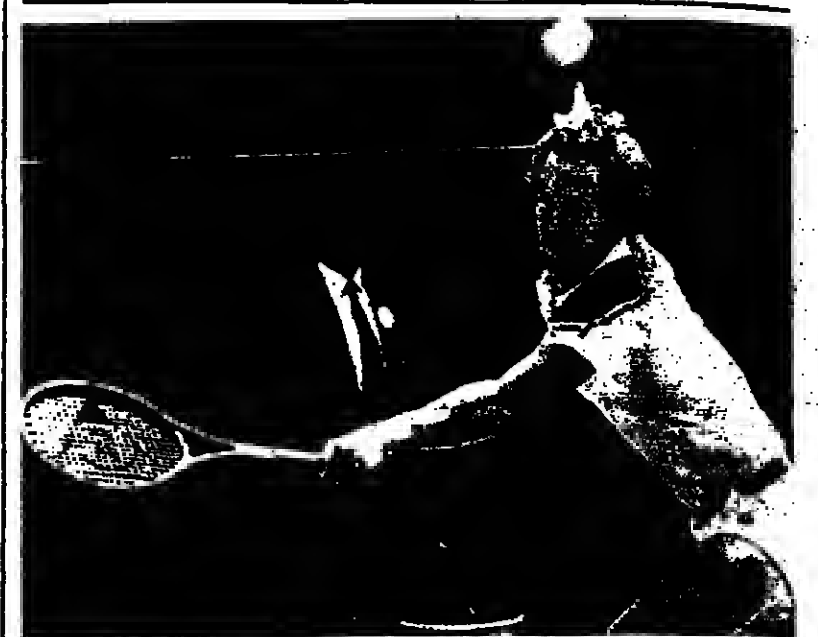
Viets in Kampuchea 'until hell freezes over'

BANGKOK (Reuters). — Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden said yesterday after talks in Hanoi that it was clear that Vietnamese troops would stay in Kampuchea "until hell freezes over."

He told a press conference the Vietnamese had made clear to him that military pressure, whether from China or from Thailand-based insurgents in Kampuchea, would not succeed in bringing about a withdrawal of Hanoi's estimated 180,000-strong force.

Hayden returned to Bangkok on Saturday from Laos and Vietnam.

Sports



John McEnroe in action at Wimbledon yesterday during his straight set victory over Chris Lewis in the men's singles final. (UPI telephoto)

McEnroe cruises home

LONDON (Reuters). — John McEnroe, the American second seed, gave unseeded New Zealander Chris Lewis a drubbing and an enthralling centre court display of near-flawless tennis as he recaptured the Wimbledon men's singles title yesterday.

The climax to the world's greatest tournament was all over in 85 minutes, McEnroe racing to a 6-2, 6-2, 6-2 victory under a burning sun. It was a summary execution for which McEnroe received \$111,500.

Despite losing, Lewis described it "as the greatest day of my life," but admitted: "He was simply in a different class." He added: "I felt my speed around the court was useless. He was just hitting cold winners and it was very frustrating."

McEnroe declared: "I feel great, no question about it and certainly no feeling of anti-climax just because it was so easy."

Lewis, 26, Wimbledon's first unseeded finalist since West German Wilhelm Bungert in 1967 and the first New Zealander in the final for 69 years, was the popular choice to win the title. He came from 91st to the world rankings to stand within one match of the game's most glittering prize.

But it proved one match too far, for it was McEnroe's prodigious talent that towered over the contest. The 24-year-old New Yorker was never seriously threatened as he won back the title he surrendered last year to Jimmy Connors.

Lewis showed no sign of nerves in the opening game, of the match, holding his service for the loss of one point.

But in that game, he gashed his right knee, apparently with his racket, and proceeded to lose the next 12 points as McEnroe opened a 3-1 lead. Another service break in the seventh game and McEnroe was through the first set in 27 minutes for the loss of 13 points.

Again Lewis started the second set confidently, holding service to love with the help of the only ace of

the match. He also held his next service game to lead 2-1 but then McEnroe hit another irresistible streak, surrendering just seven points as he raced through the next five games.

The third set was as lopsided as the previous two with Lewis gleaming a miserable 13 points from the eight games. From 1-0 down, McEnroe won five games in a row and 20 points out of 24 from his opponent.

In the final game, McEnroe held serve for the 12th time in that match, finishing the contest with a beautifully executed backhand crosscourt drop volley.

The match over, McEnroe received the prestigious trophy from the Duke of Kent. He beamed a huge grin — a rare event — as he collected the trophy which he immediately raised to his lips and kissed.

John Lloyd, husband of Chris Evert Lloyd, picked up \$10,140 when he and Australia's Wendy Turnbull won the Wimbledon-mixed doubles tennis crown 6-7, 7-6, 7-5, beating America's Steve Denton and Billie Jean King.

The victory was a tasty one for hungry Britons who hadn't had a male winner in these championships since Fred Perry won the third of his singles titles in 1936.

The final match of the fortnight deprived 39-year-old Billie Jean of her 21st championship at Wimbledon and prevented the first American sweep of all major titles since 1939.

Israeli tennis fans expecting to see the McEnroe-Lewis final on Israeli TV were disappointed yesterday. Israeli TV said it couldn't afford the \$11,000 cost of rights to the broadcast as well as the cost of the satellite time. The game was relayed over Jordan TV.

Israel TV promised, however, that it will screen segments of the tennis championship on its sports programmes in the near future.

West Germans here for Davis Cup tie

Post Sports Reporter
TEL AVIV. — West Germany's Davis Cup tennis team arrived here yesterday to prepare for their European zone "A" semi-final tie against Israel, which begins at Ramat Hasharon on Thursday. The visitors will be based at Tel Aviv's Country Club Hotel.

German coach Nikke Pilić, the former Yugoslav tennis star, concurred with the opinion expressed earlier by his Israeli opposite number Ron Steele that the tie would be an extremely close one.

The winners of Friday's Betterball Event were Judy Nicol and George Stakol with a very creditable 63 net.

Saturday's baseball

AMERICAN LEAGUE
Toronto 7, Seattle 6; Baltimore 7, Detroit 3; Texas 13, Oakland 3; Milwaukee 6, Cleveland 5; Boston 10, New York 4; Chicago 4, Minnesota 2; Kansas City 5, California 3.

NATIONAL LEAGUE
Chicago 5, Montreal 2; Philadelphia 6-3, New York 5-4; Pittsburgh 3, St. Louis 1; Atlanta 4, Cincinnati 2; Houston 10, Los Angeles 1; San Diego 5, San Francisco 4.

Double centurion
LONDON (AP). — Robin Boyd-Moss, 23-year-old Cambridge University batsman, on Friday became the first player in history to score a century in both innings of the Oxford-Cambridge "Varsity" cricket match at Lord's.

In the defeat by France Zion was the only Israeli winner, coming through 6-2, 6-2 against Michel Chabry.

Correction
The Israel Association for the Prevention of Smoking

General Meeting

On June 24, there was a notice in The Jerusalem Post announcing a General Meeting of the Association. In this notice, the time of the meeting was given incorrectly. In fact, the meeting will take place at 8.00 p.m. on Tuesday, July 5 at the Israel Academy of Sciences, 72 Rehov Harevivim, Jerusalem.

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Beit Shurman Museum

will be open in July from 8 a.m. till 2 p.m. Group visits require prior coordination by phone. Tel. 085-81005

Pastoral Politics

Vatican Summit on Poland: Hinting at New Directions

By HENRY KAMM

POPE John Paul II and the Primate of Poland, Józef Cardinal Glemp, were closeted in the Vatican again this weekend as they have been many times in the 18 months since Solidarity, the movement that owes so much to the Roman Catholic Church, was put under ban. Once again, decisions that may shape Poland's future were being made far from Warsaw—in Rome as in Moscow, where the Warsaw Pact countries met last week, and in Washington. President Reagan said the United States would be willing to "turn back" from some of the economic sanctions that the West has imposed if Poland acted on the Pope's call for free trade unions.

In the Primate's previous visits, it was he who reported to the Pope on continuing negotiations with the martial-law regime of Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski; and it was the Pope, Vatican bureaucrats believe, who listened, questioned him closely and advised. But this time, the roles were presumed to be somewhat reversed. The Pope, just returned from his eight-day journey, had had the most immediate contact with the regime—four hours of private talks with General Jaruzelski, about which not a word has been made public.

The unlighted banality the authorities served up contained one indication of importance, however: The Government announced after the Pope and the General concluded their surprise second meeting that both sides had found continued talks mutually useful. And when he arrived in Rome, Cardinal Glemp confirmed reports that church-state talks were under way on the formation of a church-financed fund to assist Polish agriculture and raise living standards in the countryside. "The Government is ready to discuss the possibility of creating a foundation that would assist agriculture," he said.

Poles at the Vatican said the principal reason for Cardinal Glemp's visit so soon after saying farewell to the Pope at Cracow airport was that John Paul's schedule and Polish conditions had left no time to discuss the results and prospects for future negotiations between the militant church and the martial state. The church is convinced that Poland provides no enclosed space in which discussions could take place undisturbed by the microphones of the secret police.

Polish sources believe that much

of what the Pope discussed with General Jaruzelski, as well as his meeting with Lech Walesa—concerning which the Vatican is withholding even the photographs taken by its official photographer—remains secret. They scoff at the wave of conjecture that followed the Pope's return.

Speculation was set off mainly by a front-page commentary by a highly respected journalist-priest who was, in effect, managing editor of L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican's newspaper. The article, by the Rev. Virgilio Levi, in language unusually blunt for a newspaper that tends to say more between the lines than in them, suggested that the Pope had told Mr. Walesa that he had come to the end of his political role. It read as though the Pope had sacrificed the Solidarity leader to the cause of keeping open summit-level church-state dialogue.

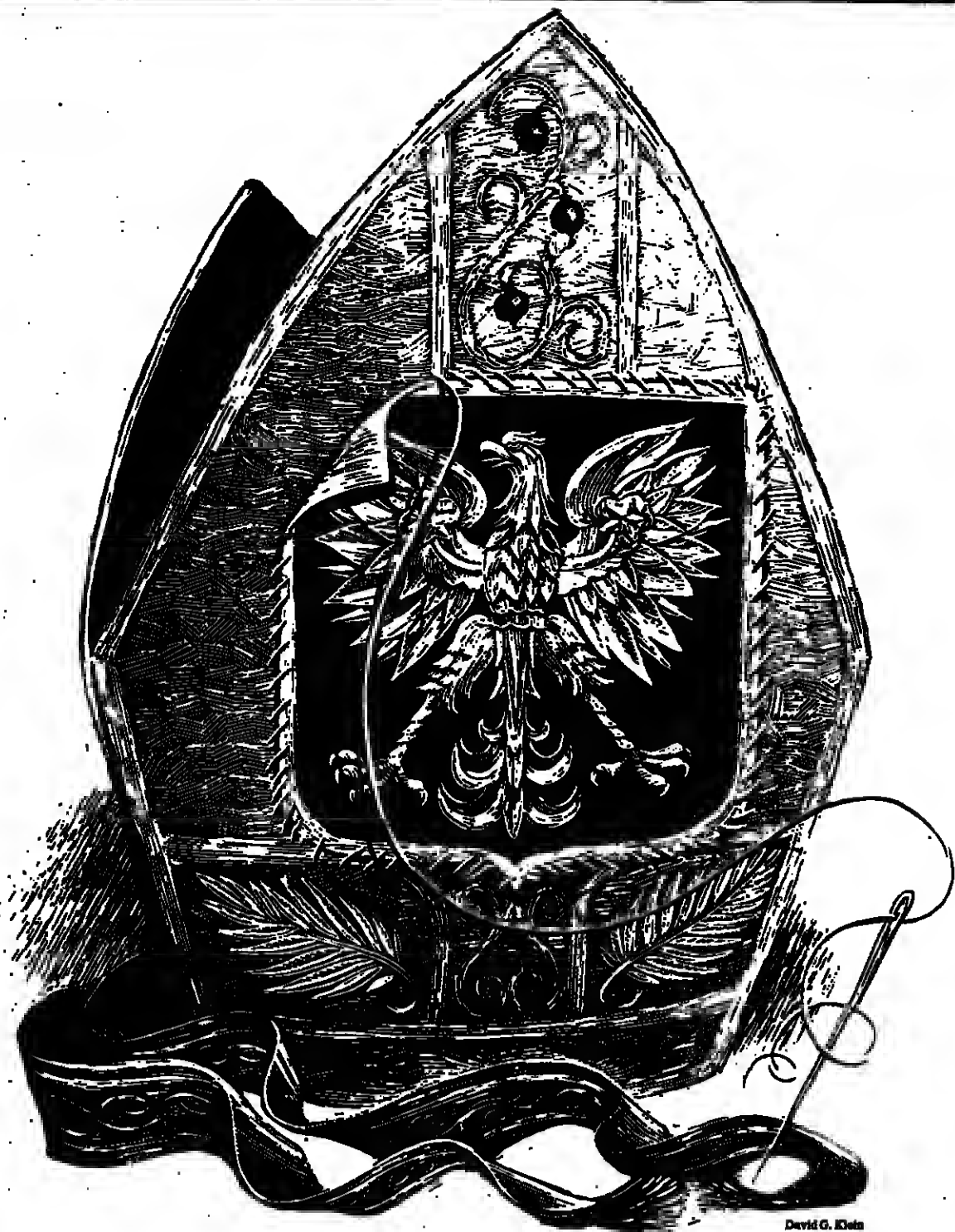
A knowledgeable Polish priest said that the Pope's instant and exceptionally vigorous reaction—Father Levi was obliged to resign while the offending issue of the Vatican daily was still on the stands—should have been sufficient proof of the Pope's disapproval. Last week, one of Poland's most outspoken prelates, Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz of Wrocław, arriving in Rome with Cardinal Glemp, testily turned back questioners by declaring Solidarity was still alive.

Polish church sources said that speculation that the Pope had abandoned Solidarity in return for unknown concessions by General Jaruzelski derived from lack of understanding of Poland in the Vatican combined with an excessively critical attitude there toward the Pope's unremitting preoccupation with the tragedy of his homeland.

Poles in and around the Vatican, most of them newcomers since John Paul became Pope in 1978, find most Vatican officials more familiar with the corridors at the Holy See than with the City of Rome, not to speak of the world beyond. The Poles tend to suspect their colleagues of seeing the world in terms of Curia intrigues, and of being innocent of understanding of the church's daily struggle to hold its own in severely repressive regimes that fear the church as a focus of opposition. Similar criticism is heard from clergy and nuns in many developing countries.

Polish Catholics implicitly identify the church with their nation, as was demonstrated during the Pope's visit when the great crowds that attended his every appearance fervently sang without urging ancient hymns that proclaim a special relationship between Catholicism and the nation.

Polish priests in Rome and in Poland speculate that the Pope, at most,



David G. Kohn

The Pope and Poland: a symposium

3

having found General Jaruzelski a serious negotiating partner, capable perhaps of not fully identifying Polish national interest with that of the Soviet Union, may have obtained from the Prime Minister and Communist Party leader a statement of intention to strive for reconciliation between people and Government. In return, it is speculated, the Pope may have undertaken to ask Mr. Walesa to use his continuing influence to try to keep public impatience with the regime from reaching a destructive crest, at least for a limited time.

But not even Polish priests, defenders of their Pope to a man, have provided convincing replies to criticism of John Paul for involving the church, its priests and bishops

and even himself deeply in Poland's political struggle, while counseling the church in areas of political convulsion such as Central America and the Philippines to stick to pastoral duties and stay out of politics. Some critics believe the variance in attitudes stems from the Pope's distaste for Marxist-inspired movements. But his defenders stress that John Paul is equally severe in condemning the unsprited materialism he considers an inevitable concomitant of capitalism in its present stage.

Perhaps what John Paul is proving is that Italian popes, living in their own country, have found it easier to make their political role inconspicuous, and that being Polish has never been easy.

Who 'Filched' Carter's Briefing Book Opens a Republican Great Debate

'Pseudo-Gate' or Not, Reagan Is in Trouble

By HOWELL RAINES

WITH the Justice Department investigation of how President Reagan's campaign aides obtained President Carter's research material before their 1980 debate, two of the capital's hottest questions gained new life last week. First there is the matter of whether "dirty tricks" are standard practice in Presidential campaigns. Second and of greater importance to the Reagan White House is the question of how swiftly and brutally a President should act to separate himself from subordinates who get into trouble.

Already, Republicans are divided on the second issue. On one side are the senior White House officials who initially believed that the briefing-book story would go away in a few days. On the other side are members of Congress and Republican political professionals who remember the agony of the Watergate scandal and believe Mr. Reagan was badly served by the go-slow advice of his senior aides.

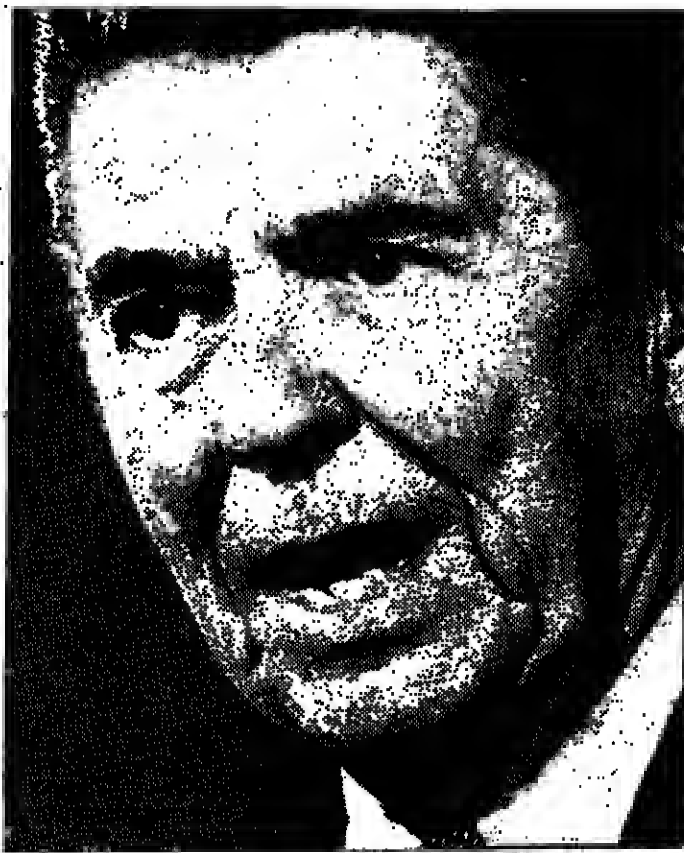
Privately, some of these Republicans are saying that Mr. Reagan should summon his senior advisers, demand to know who first obtained Mr. Carter's property and dismiss the person or persons responsible. This drastic prescription is based on the belief that some high-level firings are inevitable and that Mr. Reagan's advisers have actually whetted the curiosity of the press and the public by a piecemeal release of information.

"I have a feeling they'll throw somebody to the wolves," said a Republican party official in predicting the eventual outcome. "Two salient questions have not been answered. One, who gave it to them and, two, who was the 'them' that received the material and what was done with it? Where did the trail go after the first person who got it, to the next person and so on and what was their attitude when they got it? That's really where the ethics of the situation are involved."

Legality, rather than ethics, is the subject of the Justice Department inquiry announced on Thursday. It is necessary, in part, because three key officials, White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker 3d, Director of Central Intelligence William J. Casey, and White House Director of Communications David R. Gergen, have told inconsistent stories about the Carter campaign materials obtained by Mr. Reagan's advisers.

In a letter to a House subcommittee investigating the matter, Mr. Baker said he got a "large looseleaf notebook" of Carter material from Mr. Casey, who was Mr. Reagan's campaign manager in 1980. However, Mr. Casey, in his letter to the subcommittee, said he had "no recollection" of handing such a book. The Federal Bureau of Investigation said its investigation would probably require interviews with White House aides including Mr. Baker and Mr. Casey.

In his first letter to Representative Donald J. Albosta, the Michigan Democrat leading the inquiry, Mr. Gergen initially minimized his contact with the materials. But on Tuesday, Mr. Gergen sent a second letter, admitting that he had found many pages of Carter documents in his



President Reagan at news conference last week.

White House files, along with a note from another Reagan aide, Wayne Valis, that said the material had been obtained from sources in the Carter campaign.

In sum, these events confirmed the accuracy of the short anecdote in the new book, "Gambling with History," that started the briefing book affair. Author Laurence I. Barrett wrote that Mr. Reagan had an advantage in his televised campaign debate with Mr. Carter because a "mole" in the Carter campaign had "filched" a briefing book that told the Republicans in advance what Mr. Carter would say.

As the week ended, Mr. Stockman acknowledged that he had once boasted of having a "plified copy" of the Carter book, and he also acknowledged that it was he who had told Mr. Barrett about obtaining it.

In a public-relations move that backfired, the White House scheduled a press conference for Tuesday evening, a few hours after it released hundreds of pages of Carter

material. Mr. Reagan later said he was taken aback by the ferocity of the reporters' questioning. They seemed to think little of his observation that if the papers were handed over by a "disgruntled" Carter employee, rather than having been stolen by someone on the Reagan side, "then maybe no crime was committed."

In fact, such a finding would probably end the affair with minimal political damage to the White House. But former Carter aides Jody Powell and Patrick Caddell insisted that the scope of the information indicated that the Reagan campaign had mounted a broader, more purposeful and possibly illegal effort to penetrate the Carter White House.

Despite the doubts about Reagan aides, the subject of dismissals is a sensitive one for Republicans. Watergate established the principle that sometimes a President needs to cut people loose quickly. But that course runs against Mr. Reagan's nature and concepts of loyalty that are dear to politicians.

In any case, this President, with a staff that to all appearances is unable or unwilling to tell him who originally received the papers, has no choice but to let the F.B.I. inquiry run its course. "Whoever this is has got a bag over their head," said one White House official. "Until we know who it is, we can't go out there and burn somebody."

If some Republicans are fretting about the performance of their own people, they are boiling at the press and the Democrats for promoting what one Reagan aide called "pseudo-gate." The Republicans contended that political trickery has been common on both sides over the years. Even Mr. Carter, in his 1976 campaign for Governor of Georgia, was accused of maintaining a "stink tank" squad to defame his rival.

But some Democrats have also refused to take confidential information like that acquired by the Reagan campaign. When Senator Robert Taft left Republican campaign documents at the White House, President Truman's aides returned them. In 1976, the Morris K. Udall Presidential campaign refused to accept confidential documents from a former Carter worker.

Curiously, history offers a precedent for the current episode. In 1967, at a National Governors' Conference, Mr. Reagan was mistakenly given a copy of a White House telegram intended for President Johnson's representative at the conference. Mr. Reagan said he realized "it wasn't meant for my eyes," but he publicized the wire anyway, because it disclosed plans for "arm twisting" Republican governors. For a while, there was talk of an F.B.I. inquiry, but Mr. Reagan said he acquired the telegram through luck, not through theft. "I think in an operation this big, it just happened that this was Big Casino, this particular message," he said at the time.

High Court's Words Mean the Most in Debate on Education

THE education issue got fresh impetus from several directions last week, probably insuring it a leading spot among domestic political themes for 1984. The United States Supreme Court raised new questions with a favorable ruling on a tuition tax deduction measure; President Reagan hammered his Government-out-of-the-classroom message as he jet-setted westward for the weekend; and at the National Education Association convention, you couldn't flip an eraser without hearing a Democratic candidate.

Of all the words aimed at teachers or parents, only those in the Supreme Court's ruling were certain to bring change. By 5 to 4, the Court upheld a Minnesota law granting a \$700 state tax deduction for expenses at public or private schools. The majority said the law was constitutional since its benefits were not theoretically limited to private schools. The minority disagreed, saying the benefits would in fact go mainly to religious schools.

The ruling seemed bound to inspire similar measures in several other states. President Reagan said he was "happy" about it, but its effect on his own proposal for Federal tuition tax credits was questionable. The Administration supports a measure it concedes is virtually identical to a New York law that was tossed out 10 years ago.

Spokesmen for the National Education Association, which is meeting in Philadelphia, and the rival American Federation of Teachers, whose convention opens in Los Angeles this week, condemned the ruling as weakening public schools. Albert Shanker, the A.F.T. president, urged his members to elect tuition tax credit opponents.

The A.F.T.'s position on merit pay for teachers has been closer to that of Mr. Reagan, who is to address the group Tuesday, than the N.E.A.'s. The larger of the two groups, however, seemed to be closing that gap last week. The outgoing N.E.A. president, William H. McGuire, proposed sponsoring a task force to study various proposals, including merit pay. He said the association remained "dubious" about merit pay but would not "close our hearts and minds" to it.

Meanwhile, Walter F. Mondale and Senators John Glenn of Ohio, Alan Cranston of California and Gary Hart of Colorado vied for the N.E.A.'s Presidential endorsement; Senator Ernest F. Hollings Jr. of South Carolina was to make his bid today. Mary H. Futrell, who was elected yesterday to succeed Mr. McGuire, insisted she was neutral in the matter of an endorsement, but Mr. Mondale is widely expected to get it.

The candidates' potshots at Mr. Reagan's education policy continued to center on his argument that schools can be improved without more Federal money. But he came in for particularly harsh criticism for a speech in Shawnee, Kan., in which he linked the decline of public education to Federal insistence on, among other things, desegregation and equal access for the handicapped.

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The World

U.S. Is Still Groping for the Exit in Lebanon

Syria's campaign against Yasir Arafat and what passes for moderation within the Palestine Liberation Organization is propelling the Reagan Administration's grand design for Middle East peace toward a dead end. Discouraged, perhaps, but unable to give up, the Administration tried an end run last week but it was quickly blocked by an ally, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

United States officials sounded out Israel on a proposal to announce a timetable for the troop withdrawal it agreed upon with Lebanon in May. The idea was to encourage Syria to drop its opposition to a withdrawal agreement. But in Jerusalem, special envoy Philip C. Habib got a quick turnaround from Mr. Begin.

The American initiative was designed to modify an Israeli plan to withdraw some forces and redeploy the remainder in more secure positions in the south. Unless there was a timetable to pull those forces out too, Washington feared a more or less permanent partition of Lebanon that would preclude indefinitely any Syrian move to get out along with the scrapping Palestinians. But Israel saw no way to cooperate in the absence of a similar sign from Syria.

The Syrians for the moment were busy abetting a bloody rebellion within the Palestine Liberation Organization against Mr. Arafat. After stepping up their drive to take control of all of Mr. Arafat's Fatah forces in northern Lebanon and killing at least 15 Arafat loyalists, the rebels agreed to a cease-fire last week. It quickly proved to be as fragile as all the other cease-fires in Lebanon, and new fighting broke out yesterday. In Tunis, Mr. Arafat and his executive committee decided to send a delegation to Damascus to back up efforts by Saudi Arabia and Algeria to mediate the split in Fatah and the dispute with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad.

State of Alert, Days of Alarm

Two of Washington's Central American allies were on the defensive last week but a third promised to launch a military offensive.

Guatemala. Ducking mounting demands for immediate elections, President Efraín Ríos Montt reimposed a "state of alert" that suspended many civil liberties, dismissed 50 army officers from Government jobs, and announced an election for July 1984 — but only to rewrite the Constitution.

The President has survived other coup attempts but his edginess became acute after Col. Francisco Luis Gordillo Martínez, a former junta partner, announced on television he was going underground to bring down the Government. On the same program, Leonel Sisniega Otero, a leading right-wing politician, said unkind things about the President.

The President, an active Protestant in a predominantly Roman Catholic country, has rapidly been losing popularity. Businessmen object to plans for new taxes. The church regards his Sunday television sermons as proselytizing and some military officers resent his attacks on their extramarital arrangements.

El Salvador. President Reagan reiterated he had no plans to send combat troops, but added that Presidents "never say never." He also accused "the Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan war machine" of preparing "to impose Communism by force" in all of Central America.

Col. John D. Waghelstein, retiring United States military aid chief in El Salvador, said American troops would be needed if Congress cut off aid. "For us not to use our military option, we have got to continue to give them theirs," he said. But unless social, political and economic reforms were pursued, he warned, the guerrillas would win new converts. "Outsiders don't cause insurgencies," he said. "You can't blame this totally on the Cubans and the Nicaraguans although they have certainly taken advantage of the situation." As he spoke, Christian Democrats said right-wing parties were attempting to close the door to future reforms in the proposed Constitution.

Nicaragua. In Honduras, a leader of anti-Sandinista forces, Edgar Chamorro Coronel, said 5,000 soldiers would advance into Nicaragua this month. Confirming that the Reagan Administration had been working unsuccessfully for months to unite the anti-Government Nicaraguans, Mr. Chamorro acknowledged that former Somoza regime national guard officers still commanded his Nicaraguan Democratic Force. Edén Pastora Gómez, a former Sandinista commander, had balked at serving with the Somoza alumni and demanded top billing. Mr. Chamorro said. Mr. Pastora's forces recently suspended operations, blaming Washington for blocking their aid.

Many Americans have been watching Central America with only half an eye, a New York Times/CBS News

Poll indicated. Only 8 percent of those surveyed could say which side the Administration was supporting in both El Salvador (the Government) and Nicaragua (the insurgents).

Between Arms And Arms Control

Between dealing with Congress and negotiating with the Soviet Union, there wasn't much to choose last week. The Reagan Administration's simultaneous attempts to bolster American and Allied defenses and to inch toward arms control agreements placed it in a delicate position on Capitol Hill and in Geneva.

The Senate Armed Services Committee reduced research and production funds for the MX missile, a major element in the Administration's buildup of the strategic arsenal. The committee also approved some \$600 million for research on a smaller, single-warhead intercontinental missile, known as Midgetman.

The cutback for the multiple-warhead MX was in line with the Congressional decision to cut by half the White House's original request for a 10 percent increase in defense spending. But it also reflected a lack of enthusiasm for the MX as a weapons system and a desire to see it used mainly for bargaining in the strategic arms talks with Moscow. To get any funds at all, the White House has promised flexibility in the Geneva discussions. Some members of Congress, however, suspected that the Administration had adopted a negotiating line so difficult for the Soviet Union to accept as to prevent an agreement that would scrap all or part of the plan to build 100 MX missiles. Pravda, the official Soviet newspaper, tried to encourage these suspicions by accusing the American negotiators of rigidity.

In a separate Geneva negotiation, on medium-range missiles in Europe, it was the Administration's turn to complain of lack of serious negotiation by Moscow. Secretary of State George P. Shultz, on a tour of the Far East, declared that the United States had made a "reasonable" interim offer to reduce its proposed deployment of 572 cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in return for a reduction to an equal level of Soviet medium-range missiles. But he said Moscow had rejected the offer out of hand and added, "I think we are owed a responsible answer."

The New York Times reported last week that Mr. Shultz had held close to a dozen exploratory talks since the start of the year with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin in Washington. The talks were said to have begun after Mr. Shultz sent President Reagan a memorandum proposing wide-ranging discussions with the Soviet Union that might lead to a summit meeting with President Yuri V. Andropov. Mr. Reagan was said to have approved the contacts but on a limited agenda — opening consulates in New York and Kiev, cultural exchanges, and grain deals. No breakthroughs were reported. As for the summit, the debate continued within the Administration over when and to what, if any, purpose.

Italian Vote: More Confusion

Governing Italy was likely to be harder than ever, if such a thing is possible, after last week's muddy election results. The Christian Democratic Party, which has led all but two of the 43 Governments since World War II, saw its percentage of the popular vote for the Chamber of Deputies drop from 38.3 percent in 1979 to 32.9 percent. The Communists, Italy's second party, also dropped — but only by half a point, to 29.9 percent — and the margin between the two was narrower than it has ever been. This is expected to have little practical effect; the Communists, despite their efforts at respectability, seemed certain to continue as political outcasts in national government. The gainers were thus the small parties who were now in a stronger position to dictate the terms of yet another coalition.

Protracted negotiations were in prospect among the five parties, from center-right to center-left, that formed the last six cabinets. "All must do their part," Christian Democratic secretary Ciriaco De Mita said. Only a cohesive Government could cope decisively with the economic agenda — huge budgetary deficits, 10 percent unemployment and 16 percent inflation.

In addition to the Christian Democrats, the Republicans and the Socialists, who gained votes and seats, were likely to bid for leadership. Bettino Craxi, the ambitious Socialist leader, had provoked the election by pulling out of the last coalition but his party's gains — from 9.8 percent to 11.4 percent — were not as great as he had hoped. Giovanni Spadolini, who headed two Governments as the only non-Christian Democratic Prime Minister, saw his chances improve when his little Republic Party went from 3 percent to 5.1 percent.

Henry Ginzler
and Milt Freudenheim

Bold Loan Positions Chancellor in Meeting Andropov Tomorrow

Kohl Is Getting Results, East and West

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

BONN — If report cards were given for style in statesmanship, Chancellor Helmut Kohl would probably pull a C. He is a fumbling orator, with an unerring knack for the platitudinous. He is monolingual. He articulates no grand vision of West Germany's place in a fragile world order.

Substance, though, is something else. After nine months of on-the-job training, the burly Mr. Kohl has righted relations with the United States from a worrisome and uneven keel, forged good ties with most Western European leaders, and demonstrated a willingness to keep the strapped European Community solvent. Quietly, West Germany is throwing its weight, and its money, around.

Tomorrow comes the big test of diplomacy for Mr. Kohl. He travels to Moscow to become the first Western leader to meet extensively with Soviet President Yuri V. Andropov. The front-burner issue will be the American missiles that will be stationed in West Germany in December if the Soviet-American arms limitation talks in Geneva remain stalemated. The Chancellor will express his determination to go through with deployment in the absence of major Soviet concessions, and not to be intimidated by the kind of street violence that marred Vice President Bush's visit to West Germany last month. Mr. Andropov will certainly warn Mr. Kohl of the grave repercussions that deployment will have on East-West relations, on pending Soviet-West German economic deals and on such matters as the emigration of ethnic Germans from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Andropov's trump card would be a threat to retaliate against deployment by weakening the dense web of human and economic contacts that connect East and West Germany. Here the pressure points could range from raising the minimum border-crossing exchange fee for visiting West Germans to the stationing of new short-range Soviet missiles on East German soil. A perception in West Germany that American missiles were jeopardizing Bonn's special relationship with East Germany would severely embarrass Mr. Kohl and fuel the argument of the opposition Social Democrats and the so-called peace movement that Bonn's close alignment with the Reagan Administration means cold war in Central Europe. In this mood, antimissile demonstrations this autumn could turn nastier than expected.

It was to pre-empt such a move by Moscow that Mr. Kohl last week boldly authorized \$396.8 million in private bank loans to capital-hungry East Germany. It is the biggest sum West German banks have ever lent East Germany, which has some \$8.8 billion in outstanding Western bank loans, and the first time loans have not been tied to specific business deals. The message to Mr. Andropov was clear: If the Soviet Union refrained from playing the East German card against Bonn, Mr. Kohl would help the other Germany's limping economy, lifting a burden from Moscow. The loan gesture was part of an attempt to isolate, and insulate, the German question from the East-West confrontation over deployment.

West German officials say they have under-the-table commitments from the East German Communist Party chief, Erich Honecker, that the \$396.8 million loan will permit his Government to lower the onerous border-crossing fees for West



Vice President Bush (left) and Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Düsseldorf, West Germany.

Germans. To spare Mr. Honecker embarrassment, Mr. Kohl is not insisting upon such commitments in public. But there is no doubt here that the East German leader must have received a green light from Moscow before accepting the loan deal and its larger implications.

Ostpolitik Is Still Alive

The pragmatic West German Chancellor is evidently betting on Moscow's adopting what would amount to a two-track policy, voicing rage and threats over the NATO missiles but keeping the door ajar for a manageable, long-term relationship with West Germany. "The Soviets know that Chancellor Kohl will be in office for four, maybe eight years," said one of Mr. Kohl's closest aides. "All signals show us that both sides should not have their eyes fixed only on the missiles." If this proves to be the case, Mr. Kohl will have succeeded in stabilizing the Soviet pillar of his foreign policy after having already done pretty well in handling his American and European allies.

It is not certain how Mr. Andropov will react. The Chancellor's advisers are not expecting the Soviet Union to make Mr. Kohl's domestic problems any lighter by offering concessions at Geneva. But last week Moscow seemed to soften its stance at the 35-nation Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe by accepting the outlines of a compromise draft statement al-

ready agreeable to the West. This could open the way for a meeting on confidence-building measures between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The West Germans put great store by the Madrid conference, and a breakthrough there — coinciding with Mr. Kohl's visit to Moscow — might usefully demonstrate that both Bonn and Moscow want to keep alive the flickering flame of détente.

As the secretly negotiated East German loan deal shows, Mr. Kohl has virtually embraced the philosophy of the Social Democrats' Ostpolitik, which counted on incremental gains to tie the peoples of Eastern Europe into arrangements with the West. The idea for the loan, in fact, arose when Helmut Schmidt was still Chancellor, but it was dropped as too controversial. (Were the Christian Democrats still in the opposition, they would have doubtless lambasted the strings-free loan as a sellout.) But, unlike the Social Democrats, Mr. Kohl seems to have persuaded Washington that he is not trying to open a privileged Bonn-Moscow axis that might weaken NATO's solidity. The real test in Moscow, as the West Germans see it, is whether Mr. Andropov is ready to look beyond the missile dispute to the future configuration of East-West relations. If the answer turns out to be yes, Mr. Kohl's summit could be a dry run for an eventual Andropov-Reagan summit. That, at least, is what a number of Germans, and not only West Germans, are hoping.

Salvadoran Co-op Struggles With Low Prices and High Interest Rates

Land Reform Makes Life Better, Though Not Easier

By LYDIA CHAVEZ

EL SUNZA, El Salvador — The sun had just started to peek over the volcano and throw light over the fields owned by the El Sunza Cooperative in the western province of Sonsonate. The campesinos were already at work on 860 acres of sugar cane, 860 acres of coffee trees and 90 acres of corn and other grains.

The El Sunza Cooperative is one of 317 in El Salvador, most of them established in March 1980, five months after a military coup overthrew the Government of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero and brought the promise of social and economic reforms.

These Phase I cooperatives represent the country's earliest attempt at land redistribution. Some of them have had substantial problems in receiving credit on time. Some former owners are contesting the price of the land and have made it difficult for the cooperatives to get started by burning or removing farm equipment. However, probably the two biggest reasons so many cooperatives are in trouble are the low prices for their produce and the lack of technical assistance.

A later phase of land reform, called "Land to the Tiller," allows peasants to buy up to 17.5 acres of the land they previously rented. These campesinos have had problems with former owners who periodically throw them off the land after successfully contesting ownership. Many campesinos who have the right to buy are afraid to apply because of threats from the owners. Some have given up because the owners have demanded illicitly high prices.

In the last three years, the 300 members of El Sunza have been learning how to operate a large enterprise while struggling to repay their mortgage and other loans and earn enough to feed a community of 4,000. Prices for most commodities have been below costs and El Sunza has had to cut back on the fields under production and consequently on labor.

It is in the group of cooperatives — about two-thirds of the total — that are struggling to survive or are near bankruptcy. Only a third are turning a profit. About 40 cooperatives have been abandoned because they are close to areas where leftist insurgents have been battling Government troops.

"I don't think we are going into bankruptcy because the sugar fields are good and are a guarantee," said Concepción González, one of the five members of the cooperative's board. "This cooperative will be on its own in three years if nothing happens to affect it."

The interest rates are important because they can increase the price of the farm substantially. Mr. González said that the worth of the El Sunza Cooperative, when it was owned by Giammatei Rizzo & Company, was \$1.3 million, but interest

rates had nearly doubled the price. The former owners, whose whereabouts are unknown, are not contesting the price, according to Mr. González.

Mr. González is worried about other debts that El Sunza has been accumulating. The cooperatives receive loans at 13 percent, but when they are unable to pay, the rate can move up to 15 percent. Many of El Sunza's loans are at that rate now. Western labor advisers have said that just one good year of coffee or cotton prices could clear the debts of many cooperatives.

Mr. González was unsure of how the production compared to the year before the land was expropriated, but during the last crop season, the Phase I farms planted about 11,567 fewer acres. Some land was left unplanted because of the war, and some because credit did not arrive on time, according to American advisers.

Few of the people who live on the cooperatives are better off financially than they were as laborers. In El Sunza the campesinos earn about \$1.50 a day, about as much as they made three years ago. It is clear, however, that they prefer the cooperative to working for someone else.

"It is more difficult now because there are a lot of people the cooperative cannot put to work, but we own this land," said a 60-year-old man, who with hoe and canteen was headed for the fields. He is one of only 232 campesinos that are needed to tend the crops until the November harvest.

Hanging In Is Hard

"There is a lot of pressure for employment," Mr. González said. "But there is always something for people to do. Many people have two or three cows, so if they are not working with the cooperative they take care of their animals. Those who don't have animals have their own piece of land they take care of."

A group of cooperative members in the western province of Ahuachapán have asked the former owner to take over the cooperative, but the people working in El Sunza have no intention of giving up. Last year they purchased a new truck, and all year they have been working to repair a sugar reprocessing plant that will further lower their transportation costs.

They take their ownership responsibilities seriously, including, for 140 of them, attending evening literacy classes in the barn. Others will spend a whole evening discussing how to keep the cows out of the crops.

The Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Reform holds the title on all the cooperatives and has at least one representative on every farm. Some Government officials have criticized the institute for trying to block the land program by making it difficult for the cooperatives to get final title and credits for planting. El Sunza had difficulty getting a production loan two years ago, but Mr. González said that in the last year the application process had gone smoothly.

Mr. González and other members of the cooperative avoided the topic of politics, and what political party they might support in December's presidential elections. "I don't think that anyone here has the time to think of political matters," he said. "I personally think that if we are farmers, we must think like farmers and see what we can profit from it."



The New York Times/Lydia Chavez
Campesinos at work at the El Sunza Cooperative in Sonsonate province, El Salvador.

Complex Motives

THE papal visit demonstrated the weakness and the isolation of the Soviet-sponsored regime in Poland. It was also a personal triumph for the Pope and for the values that he represents. But a more discriminating judgment of the consequences of the visit must take into account the complex motives guiding the Pope. The immediate political dimension, so emphasized in the Western press, is only part of the story.

The visit was motivated by three concerns. First, the visit was designed to break the political stalemate, while reminding the regime of the Polish people's overwhelming desire for more liberty. By projecting national unity while urging restraint, by reaffirming fundamental values of liberty while urging reconciliation, the Pope hoped to alleviate the existing suffering and to pave the way for an eventual national reconciliation in which Solidarity (and Walesa) would play a role.

The second, longer-term objective was to consolidate the church's victory in Poland. It was almost exactly 20 years ago that the Communist regime in Poland imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski, the Polish Primate. Thirty years later, in the course of the papal visit, the regime had to accept the reality of dual power in Poland. The church has won its competition with Communism in Poland. The people are overwhelmingly religious; Communist ideology has been thoroughly defeated. The papal visit not only underlined this reality but was designed to consolidate it.

Such consolidation, however, requires also compromises with the regime, which may superficially appear in conflict with the first objective. Much of the Western press's current speculation about the future of Walesa stems from its failure to understand that the Pope's trip was not only designed to enhance the prospects for Solidarity but also to consolidate the church's pre-eminence. This means the simultaneous pursuit of competition as well as accommodation with the regime. But it certainly does not mean abandoning Walesa because his continued role is essential to the attainment of the first goal.

The third purpose of the visit is the one least understood by Western observers—and also opposed by the bureaucratic midgets in the Vatican Curia. The Pope's objective, of which he has spoken openly, is of a truly historical dimension. It is to reunify the Western and the Eastern Catholic rites, split apart for a millennium. The Pope views the East as being in the midst of a spiritual crisis, generated by the failure of Marxist materialism. (He also views the West as beset by the malaise of hedonism, and also craving for renewed spiritual purpose.) In his humility, he clearly was projecting the vision of a more just, spiritually based society, responsive to the humanistic values which the Communist experiment has so degraded. The Pope was clearly speaking to all the Slavs who live under Communism, reminding them of their common Christian roots. This is his most fundamental challenge and without a doubt his greatest goal.

To understand the purport of the trip, one has to take into account these three basic goals. He clearly succeeded in the first and in the second, even though there may be some tactical tension between these two goals, and only history will tell whether he succeeds in his monumental third objective.

Zbigniew Brzezinski

Senior adviser, Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies; former national security adviser

Strong Symbols

FOR the time being, many things are confused and ambiguous, but the meaning of the Pope's voyage to his native land is clear on the crucial point. The millions of Poles who saw him and attended the masses he celebrated identified themselves entirely with what he said. And he identified himself entirely with them, with their aspirations, fears and hopes. Nobody—least of all Poland's rulers—could have had the slightest doubt about the mood of the people. They displayed their Christian loyalty and their dogged will to preserve their national identity and to regain their right to social and national self-determination.

All of these feelings had been embodied in the symbols and ideas of Solidarity; the Poles made clear they refused to forget the 16 months of at least partial liberation from the Rule of the Lie. It is likely that the conspiratorial Solidarity will emerge stronger from the papal visit. Nothing else is certain.

Poland teems with unverifiable rumors. Many people expect an increase in repression and persecution; others predict amnesty for political prisoners, abolition of the state of war and an attempt to exert support from the church for new Government-sponsored unions, purified of "extremist" elements—Walesa, that is, and all the real Solidarity people. A particularly important test will be the fate of imprisoned Solidarity leaders and KOR members who have been awaiting trial for 10 months. The Government, with its beggars' cup almost empty, might think of gestures that would mollify Western powers, but fear of encouraging the opposition—not to speak of Moscow's demands for more efficient oppression—will perhaps prove stronger. These predictions do not necessarily exclude each other.

Most probably, the rulers will continue self-contradictory moves, trying to cheat everybody, to appease both the society and the Kremlin (and the U.S. as well). And appealing nobody.

Leszek Kolakowski

Professor, Committee on Social Thought, Univ. of Chicago; fellow, All Souls College, Oxford

The Pope and Poland: A Symposium

In the aftermath of John Paul II's visit, questions were raised about the import for state and church. Below, six leading authorities make an assessment.



Contract/Globevision Group (top); Gammal-Lichten/Chap Hines (Walesa); Sygma/Robert Burson (Jaruzelski). Poles waving to Pope John Paul II's helicopter; Lech Walesa (left); Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Moscow, Beware

POPE John Paul II showed the Polish people that they are not alone, that the world outside is concerned about them. It reaffirmed the historic role of the Catholic church as the moral and spiritual foundation of Polish life and extended this role to secular affairs in which the church, with Solidarity, is the only legitimate representative of the people.

The visit also was intended to break the stalemate between a Government which has no nation to lead and a nation which has no government to represent it. On this point, we can't judge the outcome until we know what occurred in the Pope's meetings with Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and with Lech Walesa, which underscored the fact that Jaruzelski is not the only authority in Poland.

Politically the visit strengthened the hand of Jaruzelski in dealing with Moscow and his own orthodox Communists and it strengthened the working class in dealing with General Jaruzelski. It made clear to the Polish leaders, and especially to Soviet General Secretary Yuri V. Andropov, that Poland remains potentially explosive and that police truncheons and military violence are not the right instruments to achieve national reconciliation. (Since the events in Poland, the Soviet leadership has realized that the crises in its East European empire are systemic, but it has yet to find an effective remedy.) The visit also increased the church's leverage as the only institution able to prevent a dangerous and unpredictable escalation.

In addition, it showed the Polish hard-liners and Soviet leaders, as well as the, in a sense, authentic Polish leaders of detestable Solidarity and the clergy, which has been radicalized, that something has to give. It showed it

is unrealistic to expect the restoration of the pre-Solidarity status quo ante or the virtual resurrection of Solidarity's full powers. The stalemate can only be broken by gradual steps toward reform accepted by both sides, not because those steps are what both sides really want but because, with the Soviet army looming on the horizon, Polish politics are a very precarious art of the possible.

Seweryn Bialer

Director, Research Institute on International Change, Columbia University

What Trade-Offs?

JOHN PAUL'S visit to Poland demonstrates anew that unless it resorts to oppression, the regime can rule only with the acquiescence of the church.

Church and state had different short-term goals which were achieved to varying degrees. Whatever specifics the Pope and Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski discussed, it seems that the church will encourage the preservation of civil order, as it normally has in Communist Poland, in exchange for the state's relaxation of oppressive policies and actions. At the same time, the Pope embraced the concept of independent trade unions and other reforms, which he expects the regime gradually to implement.

Simultaneously, the Pope reinforced the church's traditional role as a major arbiter in Polish society, the repository of Polish nationalism and the beneficiary of popular loyalty, especially in times of adversity. Provid-

ing it does ease its controls, the regime can realistically expect some improvement in relations with the West, some relief from sanctions and renewal of limited access to Western capital. The Reagan Administration has initiated as much.

With a Polish Pope, the church's conduct of relations with the Polish regime is passing from the Polish episcopate to the Vatican. Although earlier governments preferred such a development, they had not reckoned with the Polish Pontiff. John Paul will continue to be intimately involved in Polish matters, although he may, to the relief of his advisers, tend to place them in a larger context.

Solidarity may have been decimated as an organized national force, but its spirit and the movement it embodied will become another hallowed benchmark in Polish history. In this sense it will survive as a symbol for popular hopes and aspirations.

For the present, Lech Walesa, so politically adroit since his release, cannot be dismissed as irrelevant. The state may attempt to ignore him but he is a constant reminder to the people and the authorities of an exhilarating and hopeful period in contemporary Polish history.

In the longer run, it is difficult to make predictions, especially since Moscow remains to be heard from. This Polish Pope also called for Polish sovereignty and independence and described Poland's international role as a bridge between East and West, observations which the Soviet Union will find practically impossible to accept.

William E. Schauffele

President, Foreign Policy Association; former United States Ambassador to Poland

Of 'Legitimization'

THE Pope's visit proved a resounding victory for neither the regime nor its guest yet both have reason to be satisfied. By reminding his countrymen that he remained faithful to their fundamental aspirations, the Pope once again won their affection and enhanced the awesome moral authority of the church. In addition, he made clear that the church is the only power with which the Government can negotiate. Its role as the regime's sole interlocutor is likely to be greater than ever.

As for the Government, it acceded to the trip hoping it would thereby be legitimized in the eyes of the West and—no less important—that whatever nasty surprises the visit might entail, Poles would be left with no illusions about democratization and political pluralism. The regime twitched uncomfortably while the Pope spoke of "the arrogant use of power" and pronounced the word "solidarity." The militia showed uncommon restraint during the visit. Yet at the same time, the regime abolished the artists union, launched new abuse against Walesa, brought 13 Solidarity members to court on "terrorism" charges and dissolved a Catholic discussion club in Czesochowa. The official press described the visit as evidence of the "legitimation of the Polish Government by the Vatican and the church" in hopes it would also be consecrated by Western banks and governments.

This is not to suggest an unwavering alliance of church and state. It may be assumed that the church is motivated by its vision of the common good, as well as geopolitical "realism." Perhaps projects under discussion—such as the fund to help private farming—may indeed alleviate Poland's desperate economic plight. But it would be foolhardy to expect basic concessions. The goal of genuine democratization, which is precisely what the people want, remains as distant as ever.

Abraham Brumberg

Author, "Poland, Genesis of a Revolution"; Random House and Vintage Books

Solidarity's Future

THE Pope has provided hope for Poles who are followers of Solidarity's ideals and for the union's future. He has instilled greater national unity and faith in the church. His stern message to the Polish Government was also directed to the Soviet Union. The people of Poland received him with great emotion and understood him with satisfaction.

In spite of the Pope's strong criticism, the Government headed by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski was given new life. The great outpouring of people strengthened General Jaruzelski's hand in dealing with the Soviets. The people's unity and obvious strength offered a counterweight to Soviet pressure on General Jaruzelski.

Following the visit, we expect to see an increase in dialogue between the church and the regime, culminating in the release of many political and Solidarity prisoners and beyond that, in the lifting of martial law.

The church will project Solidarity's goals and aims while the leadership of the union remains in the shadows. The next few months will test the soundness of this concept and its acceptability for the Polish people. When the whole package is known, we will be better able to analyze it; at present, however, there is a feeling that Lech Walesa and the Solidarity leaders have been let down.

All signs point to greater cooperation between the church and the Government in solving the country's chaotic economic problems. The Pope's admonitions to the Polish Government and his teaching have instilled a spirit of hope and light in the people. His visit will have a great impact on many governments of Eastern Europe.

Aloysius A. Mazewski

President, Polish-American Congress and Polish National Alliance

Parliamentary Gains Last Week Showed Support for Nakasone's Hawkish Views and Colorful Style

Japanese Leader Escapes the Gray Areas

By CLYDE HABERMAN

TOKYO — Perhaps the biggest winner in Japan's national elections last week was not on the ballot — Yasuhiro Nakasone, the Prime Minister for the last seven months.

Technically, Japanese voters did nothing more than elect a new House of Councillors, the upper chamber of Parliament, which is so devoid of official responsibility that the British House of Lords looks vital by comparison. But the triennial voting for the upper house can often point to a political trend. So it was significant that Mr. Nakasone's Liberal Democratic Party improved its already solid majority by three seats, for a total of 137 out of 252. The closest opposition party, the Socialists, had only 44 seats.

Not that a Liberal-Democratic victory is so startling. It is part of the natural order of things, like the Yomuri Giants' capturing the pennant in Japan's Central League. The Liberal Democrats, simply conservative despite their name, have held power since 1955 and there is no sign that the Japanese people are ready to vote them out, although there is evidence that the party keeps winning more because of the stubbornness of old habits rather than great popular affection.

Nevertheless, Mr. Nakasone, a lower-house member, seemed able to claim an endorsement of what so far has been unorthodox leadership. Prevailing wisdom holds that the Japanese Prime Minister is little more than the

Government's chairman of the board, but the 65-year-old Mr. Nakasone has made plain that he wants to be the chief executive officer too.

This is especially true in foreign affairs, an area usually thought to mean little to voters here. In his few months in office, Mr. Nakasone has brought Japan closer to an alliance with the West than had been considered probable or politically wise. Repeatedly, he has said it is time for his country to assume more responsibility for its own defense instead of concentrating on microchips while someone else, notably the United States, pays for the guns.

He may well leave office with his best-remembered line something he never said — that he wanted Japan to become an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" against the Soviet Union. It turned out that the phrase had been an interpreter's embellishment, but the forceful imagery well reflected the Prime Minister's hawkish views.

On matters of style — always important in this symbol-minded country — Mr. Nakasone also has proved a contrast to his predecessors, most of whom were hard-to-remember men in gray suits and moods. This Prime Minister is a forceful presence, with wit, a fair command of English and an appreciation for language.

Analyzing last week's election, he noted the sudden emergence of tiny single-issue parties as a political phenomenon. Maybe, Mr. Nakasone said, that is because the big parties such as his are "department stores," while the new ones are "boutiques" — fine for specialty shopping,

he suggested, but with not much broad appeal.

His attributes have made him popular among Western leaders, but traditionally these are not traits greatly admired by the Japanese. In fact, despite his success through two decades as a national figure, Mr. Nakasone had been widely distrusted. Newspapers, in many ways the true opposition in this country, regularly attack him for "dangerous" talk on military issues, and many people believe he will say anything to perpetuate his power.

Often, Mr. Nakasone gives his critics abundant ammunition. During the campaign, he was more vigorous pro-defense statements. Last week, he said once again that he would keep military spending below 1 percent of the gross national product — a threshold that has acquired almost mythical significance. How he intended to do that and still keep his promises to toughen Japanese defenses was not so clear.

A long time ago, the on-the-one-hand-this, on-the-other-hand-that approach earned him the nickname of "weather vane," but on certain fundamentals Mr. Nakasone has not bounced around as much as opponents contend. During the campaign he clung to a long-held position



Black Star/Dennis Brack Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone

that Japan had to take its place in global affairs, and this call for greater Japanese assertiveness varied only in the intensity of the rhetoric. His basic commitment on this score has not changed since the years immediately after World War II, when he always wore a black tie as a sign of "mourning" for his occupied country.

Judging from the uncommonly high rating given his comments in the polls endlessly taken in Japan, he has public opinion on his side, the past distrust notwithstanding. One question, though, is how much Mr. Nakasone will use this to move the country rapidly on matters like defense. He has indicated that, like most of his predecessors, he will be cautious. "We have to be careful to know the demand of the people," he said.

No recent Japanese leader has lasted more than a couple of years in office, and lower-house elections that could decide Mr. Nakasone's fate must be held before next June. Japanese public opinion can be volatile. One likely influence is the tortoise-like trial of former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka on bribery charges. By coincidence, the court announced the day after the election that it would issue its verdict Oct. 12. Most Japanese anticipate a guilty verdict, and, as a recent beneficiary of Mr. Tanaka's support, Mr. Nakasone can expect to be harmed. He realizes that. He also has been around long enough to know the way the wind blows.

BROADWAY 80

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The Nation

Abortion Foes Overreach in The Senate

In nearly a decade of Congressional debate, those who oppose Federal laws limiting a woman's right to abortion have been aided in no small way by squabbling among those who favor limitations. Such was the case again last week in the Senate, where a restrictive constitutional amendment lost 50 to 49, 18 votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority.

Paul Brown, director of the Life Amendment Political Action Committee, said that his allies in the anti-abortion cause had unwisely applied pressure on Senators Orrin G. Hatch,



Senator Orrin G. Hatch

a Republican from Utah, and Thomas F. Eagleton, a Democrat from Missouri, the sponsors of the 10-word amendment. The proposal stated that "A right to abortion is not secured by this Constitution."

"By pushing this futile amendment to the floor of the Senate," Mr. Brown said, "the National Right to Life Committee and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops have accomplished what the National Abortion Rights Action League and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America have not been able to do," he said. "They have handed the pro-life movement the greatest single legislative setback in its 10-year history and have driven a mammoth wedge into the movement itself."

Senator Jesse Helms, a Republican from North Carolina and a proponent of restrictions, said that the vote had been a blunder because support for passage clearly hadn't been there from the start. He promised that opponents of abortion would be back soon with statutory bans, which require only simple majorities.

Chicago Needs Three to Tango

The way things are going in Chicago, Mayor Harold Washington's term may be up before he and the City Council shake hands and get on with the business of governing.

Just as it seemed the city's first black Mayor and the rebellious white Council majority had reached accommodation on one important issue, a black civic group filed a suit last week that some Council members said could undermine further negotiations. The suit in Federal District Court, filed by the Chicago Black United Communities, charges that a group of 29 white aldermen led by Edward R. Vrdolyak conspired to "deny blacks equal say in the Council."

Mr. Vrdolyak's all-white faction ranged itself against Mr. Washington's 21 allies, 16 of whom are black, shortly after the Mayor was sworn in two months ago. The group has vowed to frustrate any attempts by the Mayor to dismantle Chicago's patronage system and has kept his supporters off influential committees.

Recently the two sides reached agreement on the number of jobs that the Mayor would control, increasing it to 1,200 from 792. But it now appears that any further negotiations may be delayed pending the outcome of last week's suit, which asks that all actions taken by the Vrdolyak-dominated Council be nullified.

They Stand Miscorrected

The printed record of Congressional testimony often makes politicians look bad enough, but now somebody evidently has decided to make them look worse. Last week the House of Representatives, responding to complaints by Republicans that committee reports had been tampered with, directed its ethics

committee to look into the rewriting. It subsequently developed that alteration of many of the remarks had been authorized by the people who made them.

The altered transcripts involved hearings held last year on the performance of the Environmental Protection Agency and, in 1980, on silver market speculation. Here and there entire blocks of testimony had been deleted. In some cases words were changed; a Republican who recalled making a crack about the size of a committee's "majority" staff said it came out "minority." All in all, said Republican leader Robert H. Michel of Illinois, "We are dealing with repugnant acts designed to discredit specific members of the minority in this House." House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts said a committee aide had doubtless fiddled with the texts without authorization and would be duly caught and sacked.

That wasn't enough for seven of the Republicans who said their words had been altered. They asked the Justice Department to investigate, claiming that the House's Democratic majority was "stonewalling" by voting to refer the matter to the ethics panel but refusing to require the committee to hold public hearings. The committee named Ralph P. Plotkin, a General Accounting Office lawyer, special counsel with powers to conduct a transcript investigation.

Can the Pentagon Save a Bundle?

The idea that smarter shopping would save billions for the Pentagon got a 21-gun endorsement last week from a Presidential task force of business executives.

The group ticked off 40 steps the military could take to save \$92 billion over the next three years, much of it by taking away weapons-buying authority from the individual services and by increasing competition for munitions contracts. The group said it had found that between drawing board and production line, the cost of 14 weapons in particular had risen from \$30 billion to \$82 billion.

The report, the handiwork of the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control, was the sixth in a series that began 15 months ago. Their recommendations landed with a thud at the Pentagon. Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, who said that it would be "cruelly unfair for the American people to perceive that vast savings can be realized within a very short time," insisted that great strides had already been taken toward improving efficiency. Further, he said, the group's suggestion that qualification time for a military pension should be extended from 20 to 30 years would "create havoc with the morale and readiness of our troops." Capitol Hill isn't likely to smile on a suggestion that \$2 billion to \$5 billion a year could be saved by closing useless military bases.

'Imprudent' Words on Dioxin

The American Medical Association tried a little fast footwork before Congress last week, but still seemed a bit out of step on the issue of dioxin contamination. "We regret some of the imprudent language of our Missouri colleagues," an A.M.A. representative told a House subcommittee, referring to a recent resolution that accused the news outlets of "hysterical misreporting" and conducting a "witch hunt" on dioxin.

"If one of my 14-year-old kids wrote such an intemperate, irresponsible and demagogic editorial in a high school newspaper, I would whack their fannies," said Representative James H. Scheuer, a New York Democrat. Dr. John R. Beljan said that the offending parts of the resolution, interpreted by President Reagan and many others as minimizing concern over dioxin, did not represent official A.M.A. policy. Even though adopted by the association's 351-member House of Delegates after being proposed by the Missouri delegation, they were merely "part of the background record," he said.

Beyond the Capitol Hill arena, several Government groups issued their own views on dioxin-related subjects. The Environmental Protection Agency drafted a plan suggesting the agency devote more money and personnel to finding contaminated sites and health effects in a "high-profile" approach. A group of scientists meeting at the Centers for Disease Control concurred with the C.D.C.'s assessment that dioxin concentrations above one part per billion in soil were unsafe, though this threshold was still uncertain. And the Air Force announced that its first study of pilots and crews exposed to Agent Orange in Vietnam showed no abnormal death rates. But the report said this was inconclusive because the "small, young and relatively healthy cohort may not have yet reached the latency period wherein attributable fatal disease might be expected."

Michael Wright,
Carlyle C. Douglas
and Caroline Rand Herron

Democrats' \$720 Cap on Reductions Was Among the Victims Last Week

Anyone Can Devise a Tax But Who Can Pass One?

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

WASHINGTON — Taxes can be raised in any number of ways. Ask any member of Congress who has an interest in making the Government's books balance and he or she can produce a list. Many of the revenue-raising measures add up, too, reaching the \$73 billion over three years that Congress mandated in the 1984 budget resolution approved over President Reagan's objections.

But the early summer line is that Congress isn't likely to clear a tax bill this year. Said one key aide dryly last week, "The chances of approval are better than some people think. I think there is a 30 percent chance."

Developments last week probably made the odds even longer. Five Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee vowed to fight the tax increases called for in the budget resolution, which they dubbed "economic insanity." Meanwhile, aides to Democratic Representative Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, head of the House Ways and Means Committee, said the chairman had decided to put off any move to write a tax bill until September, after Congress's August recess.

The \$720 tax-reduction cap, which Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. pushed through the Democratic House, lost in the Republican-controlled Senate, eliminating it as a revenue-raising contender. And the easier than expected 55 to 45 defeat also makes repeal of income tax indexing, which ties tax brackets to inflation starting in 1985 and was a key Democratic option earlier this year, look much more difficult. As one of the Speaker's aides acknowledged, the arguments for the tax cap were much stronger than the ones for repeal of indexing.

In addition, the economic recovery continues, despite concerns in the financial community and elsewhere about those \$200 billion budget deficits expected for several years to come. The Reagan Administration announced a revised economic forecast last week, which raises the rate of growth from 4.7 percent to 5.5 percent this year and from 4 percent to 4.5 percent in 1984.

The unemployment rate, which has slipped from 10.7 percent in December to 10 percent in May, is still expected to be high, only dropping to 9.6 percent by the end of next year. But most forecasters say inflation is still likely to remain in check, with prices, as measured by the broad-based GNP deflator, rising 4.6 percent this year and 5 percent in 1984.

The President's optimism at last week's press conference — "the economy is beginning to sparkle," he said — was backed up by the later report of a 1.2 percent rise in the May index of leading



Stuart Goldberger

economic indicators, an indication of economic strength several months down the road, and a strong 1.9 percent rise in new factory orders.

And the Administration is predicting that the stronger than anticipated economic growth this year and next — although still less than average for the beginning of an economic recovery — will trim some \$10 billion to \$15 billion from the 1984 deficit projection of \$190.2 billion and some \$25 billion more from the 1985 deficit of \$184.6 billion.

A Few Taxing Ideas

So the economic climate seems to make the President's arguments against raising taxes and tampering with the recovery more persuasive. Last year, when Congress and, in the end, the President pushed through the three-year, \$100 billion tax increase, it was in the cause of lowering Federal budget deficits and interest rates.

But the revenue lists are being prepared and both Bob Dole, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Mr. Rostenkowski know they can't just skirt the issue altogether.

First is the income tax, but there are few options. With the cap and indexing crossed off, there is a surcharge, which the President proposed as part of his fiscal 1986 tax package. He also proposed putting this on the corporate tax.

There is the Rostenkowski proposal, known as a freeze, which delays many of the tax reductions approved in 1981, including those for inheritance and gift taxes and charitable deductions. For business to worry about are some increases in the taxes that banks pay, as partial punishment for their drive to repeal withholding on dividends and

interest, and a rise in insurance company levies. Also on the business list are changes in accelerated depreciation, including lengthening the depreciation for structures from 12 years to 15 years or 20 years. More restrictions on leasing, which allows the sale of tax breaks, are also likely.

Compliance is at the top of Mr. Dole's list. He also wants to erase some tax breaks, such as income averaging and deductions for state sales and local taxes. Also on this list is a cap on the deduction for employer-paid health premiums.

In theory, the total of new taxes and reforms could come close to the \$73 billion total over three years and hitting the \$46 billion, which is the target for fiscal 1986, which begins Oct. 1985.

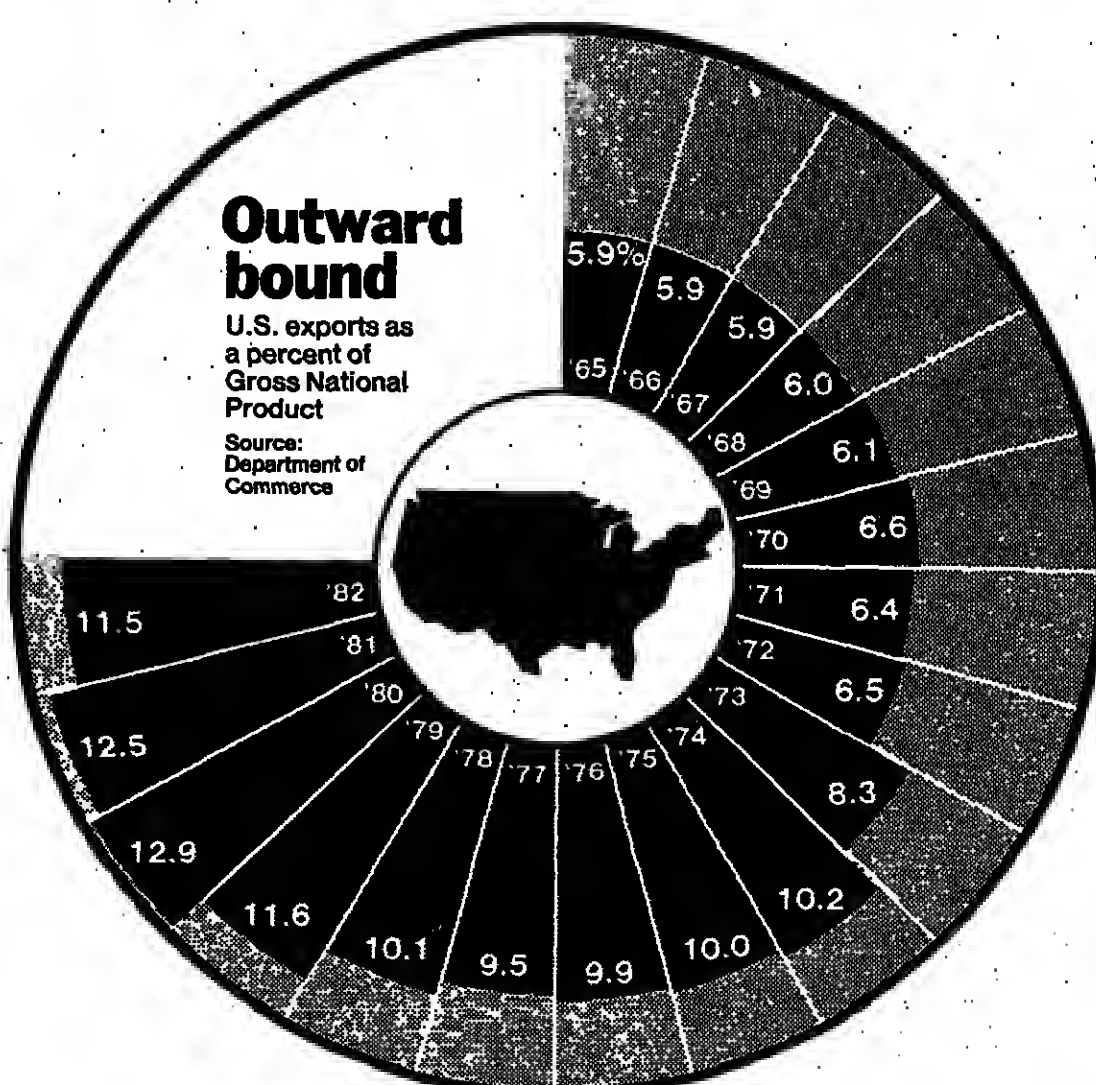
But politically the addition is difficult at best. The revenue is going to "be extremely difficult for us to raise," said Republican Senator John Heinz of Pennsylvania, a member of the Finance Committee. "The House has to act first," he said, referring to the constitutional requirement that taxes originate in the House, "and for once I am grateful for the Constitution."

"Of course it's possible," said Representative Sam Gibbons of Florida, the number-two Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee. "But the question is whether it is desirable and when." And with the economy just beginning to recover, "it is not desirable now." But, he acknowledged, if interest rates go up — which could rekindle the fear of deficits — a tax increase soon could be in order.

Said Mr. Dole, mindful of the bruises inflicted in any tax tussle, "If in fact the President says no to anything, I'm not sure what point there is to go through the Chinese torture."

Congress's Keen Interest Has a One-Word Explanation: Jobs

Foreign Trade Becomes a Local Issue



By CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH

WASHINGTON — The legend of the Yankee trader, the ingenious New England merchant plying the routes of the world, has faded with time, but selling abroad has never been more important to the nation's economy or politics.

"Five years ago if you talked exports, you maybe found three people interested," said Senator William V. Roth Jr., the Delaware Republican who heads a recently created export caucus that already commands the support of 71 Senators. A similar body in the House of Representatives, the Export Task Force, has tripled its membership in the last three years to 100.

The pressure on them to do something got fresh impetus last week as the Commerce Department announced that America's foreign trade deficit rose to a one-month record of \$6.9 billion in May. Some of the rise was attributed to America's faster economic recovery rate, but that left Congress no less determined to legislate remedies.

"Trade is the issue of the 1980's," says Don Bonker, the Seattle Democrat who heads the House group. "Congress has a leading role to play in removing unnecessary disincentives."

Caucus members in both branches support legislation that would increase American exports through greater coordination of tax, finance, anti-trust and other policies with the efforts of exporters. The idea is to sharpen American competitiveness, particularly against skilled traders such as Japan and Germany, and newly industrialized countries such as Korea, Taiwan and Singapore.

It is an increasingly popular political issue because export statistics are no longer arcane numbers in the back pages of newspapers. Quite the contrary. Four out of five new jobs in manufacturing over the last few years derive from foreign trade, according to a recent Government survey.

All this is a relatively recent phenomenon. For many years after World War II, American companies didn't care much about selling abroad because they had big enough markets at home. If there was a bias in foreign trade policy in the early postwar years it was toward imports that helped spur reconstruction of war-torn countries, former enemies as well as friends. But, "We have to compete today in the international marketplace," says Calman J. Cohen, vice president of the Emergency Committee for American Exports. The committee's 63 multinational companies have worldwide employment of five million

and total sales volume of \$700 billion.

The cost of inattention to world trade became particularly noticeable during the recession, when basic industries such as copper, automobiles and steel laid off tens of thousands of workers. Although increasing foreign trade won't put them all back to work in their old jobs, exports do provide a way to focus on job creation, which has a strong appeal. "It does deflect some of the pressure for protectionism when members (of Congress) can point to exports," said James A. Peyser, staff director of the House export task force.

The United States, with an annual output of goods and services of about \$3 trillion, accounts for about a quarter of the world's G.N.P. But its share of the world's \$2 trillion in exports is only about 10 percent. United States Trade Representative Bill Brock, for one, believes the potential for expanding foreign trade is "unlimited."

With strong backing from the Reagan Administration the caucuses already have achieved some legislative successes. Perhaps the most important of them was the potentially far-reaching Export Trading Company Act, which was approved last year and is just now getting revved up. The act exempts from antitrust prosecution companies that team up to sell overseas. If they can show that grouping together for foreign ventures would not affect domestic competition, they get a prior antitrust clearance.

Among the remaining items high on the exporters' wish lists, two are viewed as having a fairly good chance of winning Congressional approval.

One measure would clarify American companies' responsibilities under the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977, which was intended to stop foreign payoffs by American firms. The Senate Banking Committee has approved the Business Accounting and Foreign Trade Simplification Act of 1983, which sets out in more precise language just when liabilities are incurred. After long delays, the House is moving on a similar bill.

Opposite Actions

The other would improve export financing. Both the Senate and House now have bills renewing the charter for the Export-Import Bank, but with modifications that would make Ex-Im's prime mandate to provide competitive financing terms for American exporters. The bank lends or guarantees the loans to America's foreign customers.

There is sharp contention over other trade legislation, however. The House and Senate bills that would extend the Export Administration Act, which expires Sept. 30, are diametrically opposed. This act gives the President authority to control exports to the Soviet Union.

Exporters like the House bill, which would make it more difficult for the President to act as he did last summer, when he halted the export of American technology for use in construction of the Russian gas pipeline to Western Europe. The Senate bill would give the President even broader powers to control not only exports of American technology, but imports from any countries that violate American trade sanctions.

The divisions over export controls are so deep that some are predicting no agreement between the House and Senate. In that event, extension of the existing legislation might be the least objectionable solution. For one Congressional aide, the flap brought to mind Bismarck's comment that people should never see the way their sausages or their laws are made.

Cutting Loose: The Drive to Divest

By JEFFREY MADRICK

FOR more than a decade, Beatrice Foods prided itself on its aggressive acquisitions strategy — one that steadily transformed the Chicago concern into a \$10 billion-a-year conglomerate that sold everything from luggage to orange juice. But this past winter, faced with a sharp decline in profits, the buying spree has shifted into reverse. Now Beatrice plans to unload some 50 of its companies.

The real surprise is just how common this corporate about-face is becoming. Many companies, such as Beatrice, are trimming down operations rather than fattening them up. They are pruning unwanted divisions. And, they are redeploying their assets to support product lines and businesses they know best — and at times making a few new acquisitions to strengthen their core businesses. Clearly, divestiture is no longer a dirty word — an admission of failure; it is a sign that a company is getting its house in order.

"A company cannot be run like a stock portfolio any more," asserted Walker Lewis, president of Strategic Planning Associates, a management consulting firm in Washington. "You just can't buy and sell companies because they are providing a good return on investment at the moment. You have to know how to manage them over the long haul." Added Alan Kantrow, co-author of "Industrial Renaissance" and associate editor of the Harvard Business Review: "Signs are showing up that American management is beginning to understand that it neglected much of what it should have been doing in the 70's — that is, showing more concern for the product, its quality, and the way it's produced."

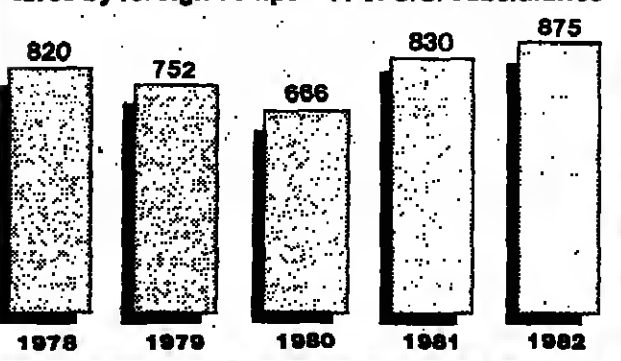
Recent statistics support this view. W. T. Grimm & Company, a Chicago-based financial research firm, reported that there were 875 divestitures last year, up from a record low of 686 in 1980, and activity in this year's first quarter is keeping pace with 1982 levels. Perhaps more to the point, Grimm also found that major divestitures have mushroomed in the last few years. In fact, 13 percent of all divestitures in 1982 were larger than \$100 million, more than doubling the 1979 figure.

As the numbers might indicate, the pattern of divestiture affects a broad range of diverse businesses — from food to toys, trucking to high technology, natural gas to magazine publishing. And, among those now involved in the activity are many corporate powerhouses that grew famous in the

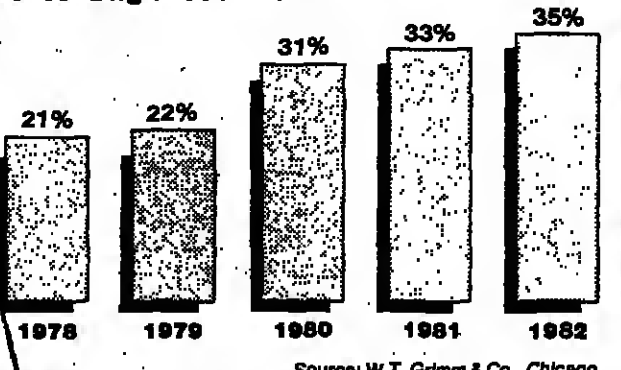


Corporate Sell-Offs On the Rise

Total divestitures by U.S. corporations of domestic and foreign subsidiaries, as well as divestitures by foreign companies of U.S. subsidiaries



Divestitures as a percent of all mergers, acquisitions and divestitures with values exceeding \$100 million



Source: W. T. Grimm & Co., Chicago

difficult as his recession has been," said James L. Dutt, Beatrice's chairman. "one good thing that came out of it is that it gave us the chance to take a longer and harder look at some of the businesses we are in."

At the same time, many United States corporations spread themselves too thin. Some found that they were unable to add the necessary management talent to properly run their acquisitions. Others realized too late that they lost control of marketing and product development by overly ambitious diversification into unfamiliar territories.

A study underlines the point. Ac-

growth slows," said Mr. Patience. The most important lesson from all this, he noted, is simply that "conglomerate managements have shown they cannot manage new businesses well."

And apparently this message is being heard loud and clear in executive board rooms across the nation. "I'd say that 90 percent of the companies I speak to are undertaking or considering a divestiture," said Richard Bingham, head of mergers and acquisitions for Lehman Brothers, Kuhn Loeb, a major investment banking house. According to public figures, the three most active firms in divestitures — Lehman Brothers, Goldman, Sachs & Company and First Boston — handled 48 in 1982, compared with only 13 two years before. And this year's rate at Lehman Brothers so far is outpacing year-earlier levels. Goldman, Sachs reported that divestitures account for nearly half of all its transactions these days.

"Expansion for its own sake is no longer considered good," said Mr. Lewis of Strategic Planning Associates. Said Mr. Bingham of Lehman: "A subsidiary may not have the size, market share or cash flow to justify a place in the firm. Mergers and divestitures being made today are done with a close eye on improving productivity."

But the roots of the new corporate attitude go deeper. The litany of economic problems is familiar: Productivity growth has been slowing since the mid-1960's; real wages are down to the levels of the early 1960's; and despite the bull market, stock prices discounted for inflation are still low. "American managers have to bear a large part of the responsibility," declared Mr. Kantrow of Harvard. "It does seem that the Japanese and other foreign managers have done it better," he said.

To some these explanations are too

pat. Geoffrey Botsi, who heads mergers and acquisitions for Goldman, Sachs, believes that corporations have not completely abandoned the portfolio approach to management. "A lot of companies, he said, are returning to their historical keys to success and getting rid of unwanted businesses. But you can't treat a company as a portfolio of assets and still have a strategic thrust in a number of lines of businesses. Divesting a company from the portfolio is not all that different in philosophy from adding one through an acquisition."

And Mr. Kantrow of Harvard says it remains to be seen whether the current divestitures are the first step in an ongoing change in strategy, or just a reaction to recent problems. "The real test will come when business gets better and profits are up," he said. "Then we'll see whether management sticks to these new principles."

Whatever management's reasoning, there is another important impetus to the strategy shift: Wall Street likes the new streamlining. On the basis of their divestiture plans, companies such as Beatrice, Quaker Oats and Signal, have received strong buy recommendations from analysts. "When a company gets rid of a negative value business, for example, one that is draining it of cash," said Strategic Planning's Mr. Lewis, "Wall Street loves it."

Leon Levy, former senior partner of Oppenheimer & Company, who spearheaded a recent attempt to get the TWC Corporation to split up its several subsidiaries, believes that the stock market has simply come to realize how difficult it is to manage a wide diversity of businesses under one roof. He adds that a stock market investor can diversify his portfolio on his own; he does not need a conglomerate to do it for him.

Sometimes divestiture goes hand-in-hand with the acquisition of other,

more closely related businesses. Gould Inc., for instance, purchased two major electronics companies while divesting its other divisions. CSX Inc., which runs the Chessie Railroad, sold the Florida Publishing Company a couple of years ago, which baffled management for years; and last week it won a bidding contest for the Texas Gas Corporation. CSX's objective was not only the energy company but also Texas Gas's barge operation, which it feels will round out its East Coast transportation complex.

Similarly, Esmark Inc., a consumer products conglomerate, has been selling off unrelated divisions. Meanwhile, it has made a bid — accepted last week — for Norton Simon, as a way to extend its product line. NL Industries has successfully retreated from the lead business into oil and related services through a series of divestitures and acquisitions. Occidental Petroleum and the Allied Corporation have been busy divesting subsidiaries to pay for newly acquired companies. And Time Inc. is spinning off its forest products division to concentrate on publishing.

For every seller of a business there must be a buyer. And the abundance of those buyers has reinforced the move toward this new corporate attitude. One of the most important sources of buyers today is management itself through leveraged buyouts. In a leveraged buyout, management puts up little or no money and borrows heavily for the purchase price of the company. It then uses the company's cash flow and its assets to back up the loan. Gould's battery

maker, for example, is being bought by such a group managed by Allen & Company, an investment firm. Grimm reports that buyouts have become an increasingly popular strategy, accounting for nearly twice the proportion of divestitures than was the case a few years ago.

But other companies are also important buyers, and their objectives reflect the new back-to-basics dogma too. To Renault, for example, Mack Truck is valuable as part of its plan to have an international presence in the truck manufacturing business. When Richardson-Vicks, a major personal care and health products company, wanted to sell its Merrell pharmaceutical division, it found a perfect buyer in Dow Chemical, according to Mr. Patience of McKinsey. Mr. Patience analyzed the company and thought it worth far less than the more than \$300 million Dow paid for it. "But to Dow, which had the products but not Merrell's sales force, the purchase was worth the price," he said.

Of course, not all the new directions these companies are taking will prove profitable. Mr. Patience, for example, believes the jury is still out on whether Gould's move into electronics will really pay off. But management's heightened sensitivity to return on investment, its skepticism about growth for its own sake, are hopeful signs. "Just about everyone agrees," said Mr. Lewis of Strategic Planning, "that what is going on today is for the most part for the better."

Jeffrey Madrick is financial editor of Business Times, a news program on the cable network ESPN.

Companies once sought strength in size. But now they are finding that less may be more.

late 70's for their insatiable appetite for acquisitions. Gould Inc., a \$1.6 billion diversified manufacturing conglomerate, for example, is transforming itself from a company that made everything from batteries to electrical motors into one specializing in electronics; the Signal Company is in the process of selling all subsidiaries unrelated to high technology, including its Mack Truck division, in a bid to concentrate on engineering and electronics, and Quaker Oats is ridding itself of video games, toys and chemicals to return to its established name-brand consumer products.

No doubt the recession and the severe toll it has taken on profits have helped redirect corporate game plans in this direction. Divestitures tend to increase in tough economic times, as companies scramble to raise cash, sell failing operations, or do both. "As

cording to McKinsey & Company, a New York-based management consulting firm, a conglomerate — a company that operates a number of unrelated businesses — fares poorest by most measures of performance. Companies that manage several related businesses tend to do best. John Patience, a director of McKinsey, said the firm compiled data on three types of businesses: The first, such as AMP, which manufactures electronic control switches, sticks to one product and does it very well. The second group, including Procter & Gamble and Hewlett-Packard, run a large number of related businesses, and the third type consists of conventional conglomerates like Beatrice.

"The reason the company that sticks to only one product places second is probably because that market eventually matures, and as a result

of expansion for its own sake is no longer considered good," said Mr. Lewis of Strategic Planning Associates. Said Mr. Bingham of Lehman: "A subsidiary may not have the size, market share or cash flow to justify a place in the firm. Mergers and divestitures being made today are done with a close eye on improving productivity."

But the roots of the new corporate attitude go deeper. The litany of economic problems is familiar: Productivity growth has been slowing since the mid-1960's; real wages are down to the levels of the early 1960's; and despite the bull market, stock prices discounted for inflation are still low. "American managers have to bear a large part of the responsibility," declared Mr. Kantrow of Harvard. "It does seem that the Japanese and other foreign managers have done it better," he said.

To some these explanations are too

WEEK IN BUSINESS

New Esmark Offer Convinces Norton

Esmark sweetened its bid for Norton Simon, the company accepted the offer and David Mahoney is getting richer. The price tag is about \$34 a share, or \$918 million, plus Esmark gets a "right of first refusal" to buy any of Norton Simon's companies for one year. This will probably discourage Kohlberg, Kravis & Roberts and last week's newcomer — Anderson Clayton — from pursuing their own takeover bids. As for Mr. Mahoney, right, his "motivation all along has been to get the best deal for the shareholders," his spokesman said. And Mr. Mahoney is no small shareholder. His 718,513 shares will be worth some \$25 million under the new deal — \$3.5 million more than the value under his initial \$29 a share offer. Moreover, his five-year, \$9 million employment contract will be honored, even though he will probably leave the company after the acquisition.

More sweeteners. Lenox finally acquiesced to a \$3 a share improvement in Brown-Forman's takeover bid — \$30 a share, or \$408 million. The china and crystal maker was evidently uncertain about the effects of its "poison pill" defense and was concerned about a possible flood of lawsuits by angry shareholders. Lenox chairman John S. Chamberlain will be elected to the Brown-Forman board. Of the coming merger, W. L. Lyons Brown Jr., president of the distiller and winemaker, said, "I suppose Bolla wine could be



The New York Times/Marilyn K. Yee served in Lenox crystal."

A cheer went up at Sotheby's when it learned that Philip Taubman, the Michigan real estate developer, had persuaded General Felt owners, Marshall Cogan and Stephen Swid, to halt their takeover attempt of the British auction house. Felt will sell its 29.9 percent stake in Sotheby's to Mr. Taubman at \$10.66 a share — a \$10.6 million profit for General Felt.

The third stage of the tax cut, which should pump some \$30 billion of addi-

tional spending and savings into the economy over the next 12 months, took effect last Friday amid continuing signs that economic growth is surging. The President's economic advisers raised real growth figures for all of 1983 to 5.5 percent, up from 4.7 percent, and estimated that the faster pace of recovery would shave as much as \$15 billion off the budget deficit. But they also see an unemployment level of 9.6 percent for the last three months of 1983.

Sales of new homes rose 4.3 percent in May to their highest levels in three years, while in the same month the index of Leading Economic Indicators was up 1.2 percent, new orders for factory output rose 1.9 percent and machine tool demand was up 28 percent.

Ray Dirks was vindicated. The Supreme Court ruled that the insurance analyst did not misuse insider information in 1973 when he tipped clients of the impending collapse of the Equity Funding Corporation, an insurance fraud scheme that cost investors millions of dollars. It was a strong defeat for the Securities and Exchange Commission, which had censured Mr. Dirks for violating securities laws. In supporting Mr. Dirks' actions, the court set a new, more liberal interpretation for what constitutes illegal insider trading.

The stock market worried about interest rates all week, falling almost 33 points early on and regaining less than half of the loss by Friday's close. The Dow finished down more than 16 points, to 1,225.26. Interest rates, which were erratic during most of the week, soared on Friday after the Federal Reserve reported a surprising \$800 million rise in the money supply.

Bank deregulation moved ahead, as President Reagan's deregulation committee eliminated all ceilings on the interest rates that banks can pay on time deposits with maturities from 32 days to 2 1/2 years and asked Congress to permit banks and thrift institutions to pay interest on business checking accounts. The committee also eased penalties on early withdrawals from time deposits. As for the lowly passbook savings accounts, its interest ceilings of 5 1/2 percent to 9 1/2 percent will remain until 1986.

Bethlehem Steel found \$500 million in innovative financing for modernizing two of its plants. The Voest-Alpine Group, an Austrian state-owned company, will build efficient continuous casters for the struggling No. 2 U.S. steelmaker, which will in effect lease the units. The funds will come from a group of banks and the Austrian government. Bethlehem not only benefits from modernization, it will not carry the loans on its books. Moreover, the first payments are not due until 1986.

| The New York Stock Exchange | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|----------|
| MOST ACTIVE STOCKS | | | | |
| WEEK ENDED JULY 1, 1983 | | | | |
| Company | Sales | Last | Prev. | Net Chng |
| 400 Industrials | 193.1 | 185.5 | 190.7 | -1.88 |
| 20 Transp. | 30.9 | 29.9 | 30.3 | -0.27 |
| 40 Utilities | 64.1 | 62.5 | 63.7 | -0.19 |
| 40 Financials | 20.1 | 19.3 | 20.0 | -0.04 |
| 500 Stocks | 170.9 | 164.3 | 168.9 | -1.49 |
| Dow Jones | | | | |
| 30 Industrials | 1248.2 | 1201.2 | 1225.2 | -10.43 |
| 20 Transp. | 597.5 | 588.8 | 586.6 | -2.88 |
| 15 Utilities | 129.2 | 128.0 | 128.9 | +0.51 |
| 85 Combs | 498.1 | 479.2 | 490.7 | -4.02 |
| The American Stock Exchange | | | | |
| MOST ACTIVE STOCKS | | | | |
| WEEK ENDED JULY 1, 1983 | | | | |
| Company | Sales | Last | Prev. | Net Chng |
| ImpCh | 2,245,700 | 7 1/8 | 7 1/8 | 0 |
| Cyprus | 2,064,700 | 3 1/4 | 3 1/4 | 0 |
| Dunlop | 1,833,800 | 1 1/16 | 1 1/16 | 0 |
| Wang B | 1,425,600 | 40 1/4 | 40 1/4 | 0 |
| DomeP | 1,289,500 | 5 | 5 | +1/16 |
| Reart wt | 1,158,900 | 15 1/4 | 15 1/4 | 0 |
| Kirby | 828,500 | 9 1/4 | 9 1/4 | 0 |
| Reart A | 656,800 | 50 1/4 | 50 1/4 | 0 |
| Tech Tp | 617,000 | 12 1/4 | 12 1/4 | 0 |
| Tex Air | 567,300 | 10 1/4 | 10 1/4 | 0 |
| MARKET DIARY | | | | |
| Advances | Declines | Total Issues | New Highs | New Lows |
| 254 | 517 | 917 | 98 | 214 |
| 3 | 3 | | | |
| VOLUME | | | | |
| Company | Last Week | Prev. Week | Year To Date | |
| Total Sales | 375,006,040 | 11,160,303,272 | | |
| Same Per. 1982 | 244,849,527 | 6,578,086,478 | | |
| WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES | | | | |
| High | Low | Last | Net | Change |
| New York Stock Exchange | | | | |
| Indust | 115.3 | 112.2 | 114.9 | -1.43 |
| Transp | 95.1 | 92.3 | 94.6 | -0.64 |
| Util | 46.7 | 45.9 | 46.7 | +0.19 |
| Finance | 101.2 | 98.6 | 101.2 | +0.10 |
| Composite | 96.5 | 95.9 | 97.9 | -0.91 |
| Standard & Poor's | | | | |
| 400 Industrials | 193.1 | 185.5 | 190.7 | -1.88 |
| 20 Transp. | 30.9 | 29.9 | 30.3 | -0.27 |
| 40 Utilities | 64.1 | 62.5 | 63.7 | -0.19 |
| 40 Financials | 20.1 | 19.3 | 20.0 | -0.04 |
| 500 Stocks | 170.9 | 164.3 | 168.9 | -1.49 |
| Dow Jones | | | | |
| 30 Industrials | 1248.2 | 1201.2 | 1225.2 | -10.43 |
| 20 Transp. | 597.5 | 588.8 | 586.6 | -2.88 |
| 15 Utilities | 129.2 | 128.0 | 128.9 | +0.51 |
| 85 Combs | 498.1 | 479.2 | 490.7 | -4.02 |
| The American Stock Exchange | | | | |
| MOST ACTIVE STOCKS | | | | |
| WEEK ENDED JULY 1, 1983 | | | | |
| Company | Sales | Last | Prev. | Net Chng |
| ImpCh | 2,245,700 | 7 1/8 | 7 1/8 | 0 |
| Cyprus | 2,064,700 | 3 1/4 | 3 1/4 | 0 |
| Dunlop | 1,833,800 | 1 1/16 | 1 1/16 | 0 |
| Wang B | 1,425,600 | 40 1/4 | 40 1/4 | 0 |
| DomeP | 1,289,500 | 5 | 5 | +1/16 |
| Reart wt | 1,158,900 | 15 1/4 | 15 1/4 | 0 |
| Kirby | 828,500 | 9 1/4 | 9 1/4 | 0 |
| Reart A | 656,800 | 50 1/4 | 50 1/4 | 0 |
| Tech Tp | 617,000 | 12 1/4 | 12 1/4 | 0 |
| Tex Air | 567,300 | 10 1/4 | 10 1/4 | 0 |
| MARKET DIARY | | | | |
| Advances | Declines | Total Issues | New Highs | New Lows |
| 254 | 517 | 917 | 98 | 214 |
| 3 | 3 | | | |
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The New York Times

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A Third-Rate Iceberg?

Silly, partisan sniping: initially, that's all the flap over the debate papers seemed to amount to. So what that someone in the Carter camp gave the Reagan forces a heap of briefing papers? Such papers usually don't amount to much — and probably even less in the televised debate just before the 1980 election. After all, it was not Ronald Reagan who made viewers wince by sarcastically citing his daughter's views on nuclear proliferation.

So it was wholly understandable for President Reagan to stiff-arm the issue as "much ado about nothing." Even Democratic Speaker O'Neill discounted it, saying, "Briefing book or no briefing book, our candidate was extremely unpopular." Watergate, a third-rate burglary, soon became a first-rate iceberg. The Carter papers flap — in which no Federal crime has even been alleged — is probably a third-rate iceberg at most.

But it has become an iceberg nonetheless, and, as such, has come to warrant serious attention.

For one thing, even if no violation of law is discovered, it raises troubling questions of political ethics. So far, the President only begs them, asserting that unethical things shouldn't be done in politics. Fine, but what does that mean?

Does he think it is ethical to plant saboteurs or spies in the opposing camp? Probably not. But Mr. Reagan was plenty worried that President Carter would spring some "October surprise" at the end of the campaign. Would he have accepted information on, say, a veiled plan to bring the hostages back from Iran? Would that have been ethical?

Does Mr. Reagan see a meaningful difference between a one-shot gift of briefing papers and a con-

tinuing pipeline of information out of the White House? He says that anyone who tries stealing information from the White House would be pretty foolish. We suspect he'd use a more apologetic adjective if he found someone funneling papers out of his White House to the Democrats.

That raises another captivating thought. The cast in Washington scandals generally divides between bad guys trying to keep sins secret and good guys trying to root them out. This time, perhaps, there are black hats on both sides. Conceivably, the Reagan sources were Democrats of some stature. If so, disclosure might embarrass both parties.

The President no longer says much ado about nothing, and has prudently asked the Justice Department to investigate. But his heart doesn't seem to be in it. He responds to persistent questions by comparing the case to "the press rushing in to print the Pentagon Papers, which were stolen." What a vast difference that overlooks.

It's far from clear legally that Government information is property that can be stolen. But even so, does Mr. Reagan see no distinction between giving private or secret papers to reporters in order to alert the public to a perceived evil and handing over such papers for private use and profit?

Profit, in fact, may end up being the key legal and ethical word here. To what extent did a source in the Carter camp ask for payment, whether in money, favors, access or position? And to what extent was such payment made? The answers may turn out to be reassuringly innocent. The third-rate iceberg may turn out to be merely sleet. But the questions have to be asked.

Power Defined Is Not Power Lost

"In one fell swoop," said Justice Byron White in angry dissent last week, the Supreme Court wiped out more provisions of more Federal laws than all its previous decisions put together. The decision in question undid the so-called legislative veto. It was sweeping, or swooping, but it was also a sound reading of the Constitution's apportionment of power.

It looked at first as though the Court had liberated the President from severe Congressional restraints. But Congress may come out stronger.

The Court told the other two branches they may no longer resort to a 50-year-old device by which Presidents and Federal agencies were authorized to take certain actions but then required to give Congress a chance to veto those actions. What's wrong with that? As the Court said, it allowed after-the-fact legislation by Congress, or even House or Senate alone, without the President's approval or veto.

The legislative veto has not, in fact, been invoked often. But it could intimidate the executive branch and leave legislators with unwarranted authority over the law's execution. The device was written into so many laws that it will take time before the scope of the ruling is understood. The effects seem greatest in four areas, each of which may require a different response:

National security and diplomacy. The War Powers Act of 1973 left the President free to dispatch troops without Congress's approval or declaration of war, but it empowered Congress to direct him to pull them out. In other laws, Congress retained a veto over arms sales abroad, the export of nonmilitary nuclear facilities, foreign aid allotments and large

defense contracts. To reclaim such powers, Congress will need much more precise legislation, subject to Presidential veto.

Regulatory power. Many laws give grand but loose instructions, like "make the air clean" or "make the workplace safe" and then direct agencies to write rules for reaching the goal. Some of these rules, though not all, were subject to Congressional veto. Congress will now have to be much clearer about how much authority it confers on unelected rule writers.

Spending. The Budget Control and Impoundment Act of 1974 requires the President to spend all appropriated funds. Yet postponing expenditures is often desirable. Hitherto, when the President announced delay, either House of Congress could overrule him. There have been a thousand postponement proposals in a decade — not many considering the volume of expenditures — and since there were usually sound managerial reasons, Congress objected only 100 times. Both branches will want somehow to preserve this flexibility.

International trade. The Court's decision strikes down Congress's power to override the President's tariff rulings when industries are found injured by unfair foreign competition. Given the political pressures surrounding every tariff, Congress is sure to invent new ways to make itself heard.

In sum, scores of deliberately loose statutes now need review and revision. But losing the legislative veto is not the same as losing legislative power. Rather than a historic shift of power, the Court has wrought a valuable opportunity to clarify many laws and the properly distinct authority of those who write laws and those who carry them out.

Topics

Questions of Image

Quintessence

Since it can cost something over \$200,000 to raise a child born in 1983, the tab for Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Pinner's five may be a cool million. And they won't save on hand-me-downs: the Pinner children were all born at the same time, last month.

That's why Mr. Pinner should not be explaining or apologizing for his inquiries to people whose products might benefit by quintuple endorsements. True, such activity seems at odds with his wish "to raise our children in as much privacy as possible." But given Mr. Pinner's responsibilities, promotion may be preferable to privacy; he's going to need all the help he can get.

It's not just that children are expensive. All parents know that. It's also the diapering and feeding and hugging and bouncing and chasing and coaxing and getting into snowsuit and out of snowsuit and out of bathtub and into bed — which for the most part only mothers know about.

But that's not the way it's going to be for Mr. Pinner. It's Mr. P. who's going to be staying home with the babies, and Mrs. P. who's beating it back to the office now that they've been born.

computer until they're old enough for nursery school.

A Weed Worth Keeping

As if to make amends for all those soggy weekends, spring has left us a floral legacy with an attractive face and a quietly lethal name. Maybe because of the rains, the daisy fleabane has been growing more bountifully than usual in vacant lots, pavement cracks, along roadsides and in the untended edges of lawns.

The daisy fleabane is a gawky plant whose pretty pinkish flower has myriad tiny petals. If you think you see an aster blooming now out of season, it's really a daisy fleabane, the common or Philadelphia fleabane or, less frequently, its smaller cousin, the robin's plantain. Though it's what botanists call a cosmopolitan species — it grows in Europe, Africa and the Himalayas — the daisy fleabane is mostly American.

Fleabane got its name because it was once thought that burning its leaves would keep insects away. Actually, it doesn't deserve to be called a fleabane. Though henbane will kill any chicken that eats it and anybody who chews on henbane will get pretty sick, a fleabane has no effect at all on a flea.

Gardeners finding it unexpectedly in their flower beds and taken with its unassuming beauty try to recall what

it is and when they put it in. When they learn that it is a weed, only the narrow-minded ones pull it out.

Demystifying

Why did Spain's La Pasionaria always wear black? In the years of the Spanish Civil War, legend had it that the state of the world impelled her to perpetual mourning.

Only recently, however, did anyone think to put the question directly to Dolores Ibarruri, now 87. She told The Times's John Darnton that she wore black because she likes the color. For the same reason, she added, she'd sported the same pearl and black only earrings day and night for 40 years. She also denied that as a child she ever had to travel from town to town selling sardines from a tray carried on her head.

How much literary speculation might the world be spared if contemporary journalists could only have more presence of mind? Napoleon might have explained that he never knew what to do with his hands when his picture was being painted. Shakespeare might have identified his Dark Lady, delivering generations of English majors from a ton of literary exegeses. And had American Presidents been coaxed to tell how they really felt about their mothers, psychobiography need never have been born.

Letters

In the Wake of the Pope's Trip: Two Struggles

To the Editor:

The Pope's visit to Poland has provided us with an absorbing view of what may prove to be a significant turning point in the course of history. A dramatic human struggle is progressing simultaneously on two levels, with some deep parallels tying the two together.

On the one hand, we have a great man struggling with traditional Catholic theology and attempting to bring it to grips with the important events of today's world. On the other, we have an entire people struggling to alter the tradition of Soviet Communism, making it more amenable to that society's needs. In both cases the costs of failure and the benefits of success are extremely high.

The Pope, in his desire to succor and encourage his countrymen, has committed himself to finding a religious basis for the struggle for freedom that envelops Poland. He is arguing that in

some sense the word of God supports the Poles in that struggle. Partly this argument depends on the Pope's attitude regarding the dignity of work. Partly it depends on his perception that the strife in Poland is founded (to some extent at least) on religion.

The latter argument provides some explanation for the Pope's quite different approach to clerical involvement in the political events of Central and South America. Presumably the Communist (and therefore atheist) leanings of those revolutionary movements were a major factor behind the Pope's admonishment against church involvement in these activities.

Even so, it seems clear that the Pope has undergone a change in outlook: if a religious basis can justify a struggle for freedom, then it must be spelled out exactly how theological principles lead to this support, and how they allow an identification of "just" struggles. The Pope's commit-

ment to the struggle in Poland indicates that he is willing to shoulder the burden of developing these principles.

Clearly he will not be alone: not only the clergy in Central and South America but also the Catholic Bishops Conference in the United States (as revealed in its letter against nuclear weaponry) indicates a strong disposition to explore means of elucidating theological principles with an application to today's greatest problems.

Conceivably then, we are on the threshold of a theological revolution. If successful, the positive implications of such a revolution are great. If unsuccessful, the costs to Pope John Paul II, and the Catholic Church in general, could be quite high.

The struggle of the Polish people, too, offers a choice of great costs or great benefits. If the Solidarity movement, or a successor, is to survive, it must bring an entrenched Soviet Communist doctrine somehow to admit of considerably more freedom of discourse than that doctrine now tolerates. Success might have a great influence in opening communications between the democratic and the Communist worlds.

Failure, however, if this re-awakened movement grows in an atmosphere of frustration, could well be a true disaster for Poland. A second crackdown would no doubt be very fiercely dealt, and the effects on the human spirit in Poland would be altogether devastating.

There is a final parallel between the Polish Pope and the Polish people as both struggle against an entrenched doctrine: in each case, failure of the struggle will ultimately result in severe damage to the doctrinaire organization.

Catholicism, as well as all of Christianity, desperately needs to find a set of principles which bring religious belief in touch with man's great present difficulties. Soviet Communism also needs desperately to find a way of opening its doctrine to the productive advantages of free information exchange.

Failure of either of these great doctrines to respond flexibly to their respective challenges will result in a significant level of damage. Soviet Communism in particular is unlikely to respond well in the event that it comes to perceive a further Polish crackdown as mandatory. For those of us who can only observe this dramatic twofold struggle, we can marvel at the courage of the Pope and his countrymen, and wish fervently for their ultimate success.

RICHARD W. EVANS
Huntington, L.I., June 24, 1983



Anders Weggren

the fonts of knowledge but you can't make him think.

Obviously, we need better teachers and higher standards if we are to raise our educational level. But we also need students with a greater thirst for knowledge. We need to mobilize our resources — most of all the mass media — to "sell" our young people role models that will stimulate their minds as well as their emotions.

ISIDOR GORN
Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y., June 23, 1983

The Peril in Placing Weapons in Space

To the Editor:

Flora Lewis's June 20 column was an excellent summary of the rationale in favor of a treaty banning weapons in space. Only two additional points need to be noted:

A space weapons defense system such as that suggested by President Reagan several months ago would introduce a whole new source of instability in the arms race. A defensive umbrella, even if it could be perfectly built (and it is the overwhelming consensus of experts in this field that it could not), gives the nation that has it a perceived first-strike capability. Such a perceived ability is very threatening and would result in extreme countermeasures or even in nuclear war itself.

Thus far, we have really succeeded only twice in arms control: once with the antiballistic missile treaty and once in preventing weapons of mass destruction in space. Opening up space to weapons development would essentially negate both of these treaties and put us back many steps in limiting the danger of nuclear weapon usage.

LOUIS FRIEDMAN
Executive Director, Planetary Society
Pasadena, Calif., June 22, 1983

Watt's Liberal Sins

To the Editor:

In a June 16 Op-Ed article, "Watt's Park Land Failures," Frances Beckne of the Wilderness Society raised a number of objections to Interior Secretary Watt's stewardship of our national parks. When judged by authentic conservative standards, Secretary Watt has also been a failure:

• He has been operating our large nationalized park system at an annual loss of about \$500 million (excluding capital-carrying charges on the park system's assets). The Secretary could eliminate this cash-flow deficiency by increasing park user fees by about 2,000 percent.

• More importantly, he has failed to roll back the frontier of state ownership and privatize some of the 73 million acres of Federal park land. Mr. Watt could begin to privatize parks by implementing the recommendations of a General Accounting Office's report, "Lands in the Lake Chelan National Recreation Area Should Be Returned to Private Ownership" (Jan. 22, 1981).

It's time for the Secretary to stop talking and begin acting in an authentically conservative way.

STEVE H. HANKE
Senior Fellow, Heritage Foundation
Washington, June 20, 1983

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or return unpublished letters.

An Afghan Settlement Process Under Way

To the Editor:

Sabah Kuskhaki is wrong when he writes that there can be no political settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan (Op-Ed June 22). While negotiations between Pakistan and Afghanistan might not be showing immediate results, a different kind of political settlement process is already under way inside Afghanistan.

The Government is negotiating with tribal leaders and with military commanders of the rebel organizations inside the country. Two weeks in Afghanistan (May 15 to 30) convinced me that these negotiations have made considerable progress.

According to Government figures, in recent months more than 200 rebel military commanders have defected from their Pakistani-based leadership and come over to the Government side, bringing with them some 20,000 armed men.

I was not able, of course, to verify these figures. But the trend does exist — many rebel commanders inside Afghanistan have lost faith in their "leaders" in Pakistan.

I had the opportunity to interview one of these former commanders, a young man named Malang who had been a member of the "Islamic Party" of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, probably the strongest rebel military organization. Malang had commanded some 250 men in Kabul province. On his trips to Pakistan to pick

up arms and receive training (from Americans and Egyptians, he says) he got to know the political leadership of the "Islamic Party." In his view, they are primarily interested in personal profits and not in any "Islamic war."

Meanwhile, popular support for Malang's detachment had declined in Kabul province, and he decided to open talks with the Government. Today Malang is a first lieutenant in the Afghan Army.

There are a number of further factual errors in Kuskhaki's commentary. I will limit myself to just one more: his claim that the rebels are fighting for an "Islamic government." If so, it is a strange variety of Islam.

Take the so-called Islamic Party. Its leader, convicted of a political murder before he managed to leave Afghanistan in 1973, led a Pakistani-financed unit of 5,000 men into Afghanistan in 1975 to stir up trouble for the Government there, which was engaged in a border conflict with Pakistan. In 1978, he started his present campaign. His program consists of opposing land reform, the Afghan Government's literacy campaign and laws guaranteeing equal rights for men and women. A freedom fighter?

KONRAD EGGE
Washington, June 23, 1983

The writer is a European freelance journalist.

High-Priced 1984 Olympic Summer Games

To the Editor:

The "Olympic Ticket Information and Order Form" for 1984 is out. For the last few years, we have been hearing from the Los Angeles Olympic Committee how this would be a no-frills Olympics, that there would be no loss to the City of Los Angeles.

The committee got major corporations to plunk down big dollars for the privilege of becoming Olympic sponsors. Such contributions are doubtless the result of business decisions that in the long run are expected to prove very profitable.

But now the committee is asking anyone who wants to attend summer events to do the same.

In 1976, I went to the Montreal Games. I happen still to have that

price list, so I did a comparison. Assuming that a person would attend one session for each category in each event (e.g., four boxing sessions: preliminaries, quarters, semis and finals), I found that the lowest-priced tickets cost \$275 in 1976 and \$780 in 1984, for a 183.6 percent increase. The highest-priced tickets went from \$332 to \$1,726, for a 244.4 percent increase. (I excluded events that were not around in 1976.)

I understand the need for price increases, but I don't feel that the Los Angeles Olympic Committee understands the need for participation by all of the people, not just those who have money to burn.

PAUL KRUPNICK
North Bellmore, L.I., June 20, 1983



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ESSAY

On the Glenn Trail

By William Safire

TRENTON — At a breakfast given for local politicians by Presidential hopeful John Glenn, as the candidate was making his inspirational remarks about the need for America to "go for it," an uncommitted county chairman whispered his analysis of '84 politics: "If Reagan stubs his toe, this guy Glenn could make it. For Mondale to make it, Reagan would have to break his leg."

Covering a Presidential campaign 16 months before an election is fun. No necklaces of credentials, no camera crews loading up a chartered 727 "zoo plane," no grim-faced men wired up with plugs in their ears, no closed doors or mysterious gaps in schedules marked "staff time."

At this early stage, one reporter, one pundit and one biographer traipsed along on Ransome Airlines to watch the man who would be President develop "the" speech to local politicians and small groups of mildly interested people who could become supporters and fund-raisers.

Senator Glenn's "the" speech calls for "basic, breakthrough, seminal, Nobel-laureate research" on the "economics of the seed corn," a "horror-borrow, spend-spend economic policy," evokes John F. Kennedy on space and recites Ralph Waldo Emerson on the need for change. The former astronaut and winner of five Distinguished Flying Crosses gets applause when he points out how he doesn't need to read a book or see a movie to know the horrors of war.

It's a workmanlike set of remarks, delivered with sincerity by a middle-aged man with thinning gray hair, in a starched white collar and gray suit, whose hands squeeze the back of the chair in front of him. He is not in his element, but John Glenn is not in a hurry; he likes the word "quest."

In answering local questions on foreign policy, he stays in the center of the left: he is pro-freeze and anti-MX missile, and shakes his head at the terrible death squads of the government we are supporting in El Salvador: "I don't want to see us get dragged into a situation beyond our control."

Briefing is not exploited, other than to point out that when a faithless Gary Hart worker offered inside information about that rival campaign, it was virtuously rejected. (Meanwhile, we in Washington await the return of a red-faced Kennedyite from Aruba.)

"Will you participate in New Jersey's straw poll in September?" Such psychopomps, which attract one-issue activists and require organizational depth, play to Senator Glenn's weakness, yet he cannot afford to stay out of all of them as he did from Wisconsin's last month. His answer is a masterpiece of straddling: he denigrates straw polls but insists he is not giving an answer that satisfies without getting pined down. He'll be there, he seems to say, but if he doesn't win, it's no big deal — his strength will show in the primaries as more of the people turn out. His fencewalk on that question showed unexpected subtlety, nicely disguised.

Afterward, when a woman poses him for a picture with her child, he waits three times for the flash to go off. Unlike most politicians, he doesn't have to "work the fence," reaching out for hands to shake; the fence works him. Normally, it is hard to think of a man as President until he has been President for at least six months, but John Glenn is prematurely Presidential; he gives you the feeling that he has reason to expect to go all the way.

I have long ago written about the naïve Glenn mindset on the Middle East, but for supporters of Israel, Ronald Reagan's 1981 flip-flop makes a sharp contrast between potential candidates. As 1984 approaches, the Reagan and Glenn positions are blending in a phantom kiss.

But what about the priggishness factor? In his book "The Right Stuff," soon to be a movie, Tom Wolfe portrays astronaut Glenn as a preachy Presbyterian prude, trying to impose his morality on his colleagues in the space program in 1962. In one memorable scene, according to the astronauts' chronicler, "Glenn launched into a lecture... he just wasn't going to stand by and let other people compromise the whole thing because they couldn't keep their pants zipped."

Senator Glenn confirms the accuracy of that account, and nobody ever lost a nomination for being a prude, but this context should be added: At 2 A.M. the night before, press spokesman "Shorty" Powers reached Glenn to say that one of the astronauts had been caressing mightily in San Diego and Tijuana, followed by a reporter and a photographer; the coming bad publicity could affect budget decisions in Washington.

Astronaut Glenn spent the wee hours telephoning the reporter and his editor, using national security and personal privacy reasons to get the story killed. (A former night editor of the San Diego Union remembers the caressing, but not the Glenn call.) The damaging story did not appear; a bleary-eyed Glenn then went before his fellow astronauts and made his famous reference to zippers.

And why is it important to get these little historical details straight? Because this guy Glenn could wind up President of the United States, if Mr. Reagan stubs his toe.

Anthony Lewis is on vacation.

ITHACA, N.Y. — The Reagan Administration is commemorating the 207th birthday of the American Revolution by escalating United States military force against revolutionaries in Central America. Secretary of State George P. Shultz laid down the rule when he warned recently that "people shooting their way into the government." Given George Washington's and Thomas Jefferson's dependence on American rifles, it is well for Fourth of July celebrations that Mr. Shultz's law cannot be applied retroactively.

The first nation born of modern revolution is now the most powerful anti-revolutionary force in its own hemisphere. This contradiction is hardly new. Thomas Jefferson bequeathed it to us.

The great Virginian's declaration of American independence stated that when a government destroyed the rights of the governed, "it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government."

Walter LaFeber is professor of history at Cornell University and author of the forthcoming book, "Inevitable Revolutions: the United States in Central America."

of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government." That principle appeared first during Jefferson's lifetime when Latin Americans revolted against the corrupt Spanish empire. But it could now apply to the Sandinista rebellion against the Nicaraguan dictatorship, the revolution against a Salvadoran Government allowing more than 30,000 civilians to be killed without convicting one murderer and the uprising of impoverished Guatemalan Indians against a murderous regime.

Jefferson drew back from applying his own principle. As an author in 1776 he believed in "inalienable rights," but later as diplomat and President he also believed in the expansion of United States power. Thus, he confronted the contradiction: What if people with inalienable rights in, say, Central America, disliked United States influence? How could he reconcile his principles with his nation's power?

He tried to escape the dilemma with rationalizations. First, he hoped the revolutions would fail. In the 1790's, he wanted the Spanish to hold their new world territory until "our population can be sufficiently advanced to gain it

Marking Revolution Opposing Revolution

By Walter LaFeber

from them piece by piece." But Latin American revolutionaries moved ahead even faster than the high United States birth rate and Jefferson next warned of ideological dangers. As Roman Catholics, the rebels might not qualify for certain inalienable rights: "History... furnishes no example of a priest-ridden people maintaining a free civil government," he wrote in 1813. In 1821, the influential North American Review laid it down as a "maxim" that only temperate climates allow good character.

Thus, North Americans both condemned the growing revolution and indicated why they had the right to instruct the revolutionaries. Over the next 150 years, the instruction was extensive, including United States military occupations of Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Mexico; the overthrow of governments in Guatemala, Costa Rica, Brazil and Chile; and the seizure of the Colombian province that became Panama, and of one-third of Mexico.

Time has sharpened the contradiction between Jefferson's principles and United States power. The revolutionaries only moved further to the left. Fidel Castro quoted the Declaration of Independence, but his political program came from such Cuban revolutionaries as José Martí, not Jefferson. The Virginian's politics, unlike his philosophical principles, no more fit Cuba in 1959 than North American-style elections are suited to devastated, class-ridden El Salvador in 1983.

As Fidel Castro seized power in 1959, Henry Cabot Lodge, the United States delegate to the United Nations, posed the key question in an Eisenhower Cabinet meeting: "The U.S. can win wars, but... can we win revolutions?"

Mr. Lodge believed we could if we "focus on the Declaration of Independence." This past February Ronald Reagan apparently agreed: "People living today in Africa, in Latin America, in Central Asia, possess the same inalienable right to choose their own governors and decide their own destiny as we do."

But Mr. Reagan then doubled the number of military advisers in Central America and demanded increased aid for covert action against the Sandinistas. He now warns members of Congress that they could be branded un-American in 1984 if they oppose him on Central America.

Congress can avoid the contradiction that ensnared Jefferson, destroyed Lyndon B. Johnson's efforts in Vietnam and undermines Ronald Reagan's policies by following Mr. Lodge's insight: In revolutionary crises, it is better to "focus on the Declaration of Independence" than on United States power. Then, perhaps, American power would not contradict but instead conform to the principles of 1776. It should not be un-American to believe in the Declaration of Independence.

Reagan Crossing the Caribbean



By Larry Rivers

ENGLEWOOD, N.J. — As a territorial entity, the West Bank can almost no longer be separated from Israel. The major protagonists in the Middle East should face that fact — and consider the consequences.

Menachem Begin and his Government have seemingly already achieved their central ideological objective of creating an undivided — because already indivisible — land of Israel. Weeping over United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and all that supposedly flows from them, such as the Camp David Accords, now seems a futile act of piety — for the good intentions reflected in them have been all but defeated on the ground.

How does this change the lives of the major protagonists?

To start with Israel and world Jewry, this is a change of a magnitude very nearly equal to the historic turning of 1948 — the creation of the state of Israel. Mr. Begin's bold foreign policy is popular in circles that do not share the ideological annexationism of his party. In the very act of speaking brusquely to Western powers, he helps transform the Jewish people from a victim, or a polite client of un-

certain benefactors, to a power in its own right. One of the dreams of Zionism is thus realized.

Nonetheless, the Jewish people as a whole, both inside and outside Israel, contemplates the de facto annexation of the West Bank with a divided heart and even with foreboding. The dominant concerns are in the realms of morality. Young conscripts from Tel Aviv do not like serving as riot police, throwing tear gas at even younger Palestinian teenagers who are demonstrating. Many officers do not like being proconsuls in the West Bank. Prolonged disturbances on the West Bank will increasingly trouble Jews outside of Israel. In the short run, Mr. Begin policies on the West Bank may be inspiring to Jews everywhere, but in the long run they are a prescription for unending divisiveness.

The Arabs, too, can expect trouble, or worse, in the long run. The Palestine Liberation Organization may console itself with the notion that it is at the center of the diplomatic game, even after the defeat in Lebanon and no matter what happens on the West Bank. But this is sheer delusion. As the possibility of a territorial base for Palestinian nationality disappears, the Palestinians may split permanently into warring factions.

Certainly, if their national aspirations are not satisfied, they are likely to become an even greater nuisance in the Arab world as a whole. The Palestinians' refusal to negotiate now is a

West Bank Tide

By Arthur Hertzberg

momentary satisfaction — an expression of defiant pride that helps maintain the formal unity of the Palestinian national movement and the Arab camp. In the not so long run, however, at most within the next two or three years, it will be seen as the preamble to Palestinian disaster and Arab instability.

Israel may be better off, for a very short period, with political disintegration in the neighboring Arab states. But mob rule and Khomai-type regimes, despite their military weakness, are likely to be even more unpleasant neighbors than those more rational states that exist now. More seriously still, instability in the Middle East is the happy hunting ground of the Soviet Union since, typically, Arab anger directed at Israel finds a patron in the Russians. Arab weakness is thus not a guarantee of Israel's strength. It is more likely to be an invitation for new Soviet missile batteries and additional "advisers" in neighboring Arab states.

Israel will face increasingly uncomfortable questions. Will it dare to take on the Russians more directly? How far will American support guarantee that such local confrontations on the borders of Israel will not get out of hand? The de facto annexation of the West Bank and the resulting tensions in Israel and the Arab world, thus raise the most critical question of all for Israel: what of the Americans?

In the short run, for immediate tactical advantage, the United States occasionally tilts toward either Israel or the Arabs. But basically the United States is a conservative power in the Middle East, preferring stability to adventurism. This is all the more true because the Middle East is now the major fault line of confrontation with the Soviet Union. To strengthen the American position, the Rapid Deployment Force was organized in the aftermath of the debacle in Iran. For this military force to be effective, secure bases are required not only in Israel but also in a variety of locations throughout the Middle East.

The radicalization of any additional Arab countries will surely produce more leaders like Muammar el-Qaddafi of Libya, who will tell the United States to go home. And surely it would not be in Israel's long-term interest to help radicalize the Arab world, leaving Israel as America's only reliable ally in the region. Israel will be worse off if tens of millions of Arabs in turmoil, and tens of millions of Russians not far over the horizon, stare down at the state of Israel and its offshore American ally.

Israel, which has paid so dearly for the agreements on its northern and southern borders, cannot indefinitely rely on force to keep order on its eastern approaches. There, even more than elsewhere, it can reach a settlement only with the help of America. When the complicated discussion of such a settlement finally takes place, the Americans will have to help Israel fight for Arab acceptance of an undivided Jerusalem, defensible borders and security arrangements on the West Bank. These are the minimum requirements of even the most moderate Israelis — and none of them will be easy to achieve in the face of Saudi fundamentalism and Palestinian nationalism. But, in the end, they are conceivable. In contrast, it is inconceivable that, even under intense American pressure (which is not likely to be forthcoming), any Arabs would sign a treaty turning over the West Bank to Israel.

No matter how successful de facto annexationism might be in the end, the shadows it casts may be unacceptable to all concerned parties. This short-run "victory" is the preamble to long-term and worsening problems, among Jews, Arabs, Russians and increasingly ambivalent Americans.

In Defense Of the Maligned City Dog

By James Thomas Flexner

many less soluble urban problems. Dogs are particularly denounced for polluting the streets. It is also true that some owners neglect their responsibility to pick up after their pets, but the real damage is minuscule within the overall pollution of the modern city environment.

Although having to scrape off your shoe can be very annoying, you are not menaced, as by smoking chimneys and belching automobiles, with lung cancer. Dogs are attacked for being destructive to parks, but they are no more destructive than sporting adults or children at play, infinitely less so than human vandals.

Since dogs take on the coloration of their masters, vicious people create vicious dogs, but trying to handle this problem by banning dogs is no more reasonable than stopping drugstore holdups by abolishing drugstores.

Abandoned dogs must fend for themselves. The trouble does not originate with the animal. Dog lovers do what they can. In my poodle's and my circle, the heroes are not the owners of pedigreed animals but persons who have rescued, on the streets, strays often grotesque in appearance.

The age-old cooperation between dog and man is signaled by the wide variety of breeds, each one developed to serve a particular speciality. In the city, distinctions between breeds are largely irrelevant. Although some owners favor large dogs to scare away muggers, the city dog has only one basic function: to love and be loved.

The city dog, if reasonably treated, is the perfect citizen. More than any human beings who are not saints, dogs are immune to prejudice. They love and sustain their masters irrespective of color, creed, social or economic position, age, sickness or health, appearance, eccentricities, infirmities.

Receiving the love of a dog is a comfort for any human being capable of loving back. Dogs, being a specific for the endemic urban malady of loneliness,

warm the lives even of people without major troubles. Yet the dog's power to heal grows with need.

At both ends of the human progression dogs shine. Although mothers corrupted by metropolitan living deny and denounce, dogs, who alone among city pets can accompany children out of doors, are a boon to growing up. While providing companionship, they teach kindness and respect for the animal kingdom. For the old, from whom the human world is drifting, a dog is an ever-present companion whose dependence on his master can give a purpose to life. In the middle years, the wounds that need healing are as various as the landscapes through which the humans walk and the traumas that haunt individual brains. What canine traumas the dog suffers he cannot communicate, and he responds to simple pleasures, leaping with joy when, after even the briefest absence, his friend returns.

Such societies of dog walkers as my poodle and I frequent are the most various and democratic gathering in our big city neighborhoods: little children and septuagenarians, stockbrokers and janitors, dowagers and waitresses. All worldly divisions are obliterated by everyone's affection for everyone's pet. If two dogs get into a tussle, there are no recriminations: Each owner apologizes to the other.

James Thomas Flexner is author of a four-volume biography of George Washington.

Arts & Leisure

A Critic Celebrates the Unpredictability of Theater

By WALTER KERR

I think my friends lack imagination. When I tell them that I shall now be retiring from regular reviewing in this space, they look at me in consternation. Not because they feel they won't be able to get along without my sage observations, nothing like that. They stare, lips frozen into stunned little ovals, because they simply cannot conceive what I'll do with myself.

Their next move, in a great rush of solicitude, is to tell me what to do with myself (please, no jokes, these are friends). I am not to stretch out comfortably on beach towel or deck chair, where I might, God forbid, relax and enjoy myself. Relaxation during retirement has been known to be fatal. Nor am I to indulge myself in hobbies. Hobbies lead to pottering about the house — underfoot, if there is a spouse in the area — and hence to every kind of domestic infelicity. Raw nerves result. No, the prescrip-

All theater is surprising in one way or another, thus reviewers must be the most astonished people on earth.

tion for a happy, healthy, productive retirement is to knuckle down, put your shoulder to the wheel, keep your nose to the grindstone, and work, work, work at a new all-consuming task, while burning the midnight oil. Otherwise, what will I do with all that free time on my hands?

Actually, I've known what I plan to do with all that free time on my hands right along, but I've been having trouble getting a word in edgewise. During my free time I plan to go to the theater.

Why not? I went to the theater before I became a reviewer, and had quite a good time there, not taking notes. I imagine that I could go to it again and have just as good a time not trying to think of an opening sentence. I wouldn't dream of giving it up altogether, because it may be the very last thing in the world that causes me constant surprise. I like surprises. I don't want to part with them.

The theater has, to me, been utterly unpredictable since the very first time I went to it. No, it was the second time. The first time was "No, No, Nanette" and never

"The theater may be the very last thing in the world that causes me constant surprise."

mind how old I was then. Old enough to hum "I Want to Be Happy." I'll tell you that much. But the second time was another musical, "Topsy and Eva," starring the Duncan Sisters. A doting aunt took me, and I doted right back at her. The Duncan Sisters sang "Rememberin'" and I doted on them. I may not have known the word "glamour," but I basked in the stuff. What creatures these were! And it was only a few weeks later that I joined a group of grammar-school friends to bring cookies to Topsy (Rosetta Duncan) in the local police station, where she was on trial for having allegedly beaten up a policeman. And she was supposed to have done it on the Fourth of July, too. See what I mean about surprises?

It was less surprising to discover that there was no play by Shakespeare that couldn't be performed in a fast 45 minutes, but it did add a further trace of unexpectedness to my adolescence. The Great Depression had struck and the only job I could get was selling Coca-Colas at a stand during the Chicago World's Fair. Happily, the stand I was assigned to was directly opposite a charming replica of Shakespeare's Globe, where an excellent young company under the guidance of Thomas Wood Stevens whipped through a comedy or a tragedy every hour on the hour — making that 15-minute allowance for clearing the house out and filling it up again. Since this pleasantly breezy arrangement coincided exactly with my lunch time, I was able to leap the counter of the Coke stand daily and plant myself on a bench at the Globe. Carl Benton Reid was the funniest Bottom I ever laid eyes upon. Philip Coolidge was a perfectly fine Julius Caesar; he used to come across for a Coke still draped in his toga. But the surprise, oh, the surprise! Martha Scott was the company's ingenue. Never have I seen a lover.

I've only been reminiscing to show you how far back my sense of wonderment goes. All theater is surprising in one way or another, and since reviewers go to more theater than anybody else it follows that they are the most astonished people on earth. Consider a reviewer — I take this instance from life — who has planned to cover an Off Broadway entertainment of an evening and who discovers, along about dinner time, that that particular entertainment has decided to postpone its debut for a week or three. The reviewer naturally grabs for the fact-sheets with which press agents have been bombarding him to see what other enterprise may be available to him this very night. He discovers, to his quite audible dismay, that the only alternate opening is a one-man show of some kind or other that is about to be performed in a church basement by an unheard-of chap who gives interviews stressing that he requires four-and-one-half hours just to put on his makeup. What would you think? How would you feel? With his shoulders sagging, and spiritually kicking and screaming, the reviewer hies himself to the given address, dropping into the wooden folding chair with a no-



Bradford Dillman, Jason Robards, Florence Eldridge and Fredric March in Eugene O'Neill's "Long Day's Journey Into Night," 1956 — "Did anyone know that it would turn into what may be O'Neill's masterpiece? I didn't."

timeable thump. The lights fade and he is confronted by Hal Holbrook doing Mark Twain.

Or it could have been Marcel Marceau, couldn't it? Or "The Serpent," with Cain — who doesn't know how to kill Abel — killing Abel.

That's one kind of surprise, the possibly fatal or just as possibly felicitous Step into the Unknown. There are others.

Did you know that Eugene O'Neill's last play, "Long Day's Journey Into Night," was going to turn into what may be his masterpiece? I didn't. Fact is, when the manuscript that O'Neill wished suppressed until 25 years after his death was prematurely published (no performance yet), the newspaper I then worked for asked me to review it as a book. I'd call my review at best so-so, taking exception as it did to what seemed to me some pretty poyoped "dope fiend" melodrama. Okay, how did I know that Fredric March, whom I'd gone on record as calling our finest realistic actor, and Jason Robards, who'd been so sensational in "The Iceman Cometh," were going to be so good? Obviously, these things simply cannot be predicted. (This was one of my most egregious errors, and I mention it so you won't miss me so much.) Not in the least incidentally, I still think "Moon for the Misbegotten" is the masterpiece.

And what about that Tennessee Williams clinker called "Summer and Smoke"? Everybody knew it was no good, because it had been lavishly mounted on Broadway and promptly expired with no more than a moan. Then some producers nobody had ever heard of put together some actors and actresses nobody had ever heard of and Brooks Atkinson, obviously in an irresponsible mood, made his way down to its hideout in that odd part of the world where Seventh Avenue turns into Varick Street. And Brooks loved it. Said so without a qualm. And because Brooks, then the critic of this newspaper, was our beloved if apparently demented leader, all of us in the "game" felt obliged to follow his lead and get down there.

Do you know what? I guess you do, but it was a shocker then. That man was right. "Summer and Smoke" was a beautiful, a heartbreaking, play.

Later, in spite of the play's incontestable success and as though to compound everyone's sense of astonishment, Tennessee Williams himself spent some years promoting a less good rewrite of the same materials called "Eccentricities of a Nightingale." Plainly there is no accounting for the eccentricities of playwrights. But I don't mean to waste time picking on the late and sorely missed Mr. Williams, who, to my way of thinking, did more than just write the finest play yet created for the American theater (id est, "A Streetcar Named Desire"). Overall, to my way of thinking, Williams stands as the finest playwright yet to appear on the American scene. If you want to fight about it, I'll be on vacation. It is my way to assert and run.

Retreat to Shakespeare, always safe. Shortly after my reviewing days began I wrote a book in which, and entirely in passing, I suggested that the pretty-pretty, picture-book lyricism of "As You Like It" had grown a bit tiresome and that anyone who didn't want to bother reviving it again would have my blessing. Naturally, our stages were immediately deluged with productions of "As You Like It," and the very first of them turned out to be a stunner.

My conversion came about while watching George C. Scott, who was just beginning his work at that time. (The only other role he'd done locally, so far as I know, was a Richard III so acrobatic that he entered doing a somersault that nearly landed him in the lobby.) Mr. Scott played Jacques and both of them won. Instead of a lugubrious or merely rhetorical "seven ages of man" speech, Mr. Scott put the cutting edge of his mind to his task and ended up grinning at us in a way that was wise, witty and cynical to the bone. Or let's say that he was amiable and malicious. That's impossible. But it did turn out to be the key to Shakespeare's play, which has — from top to bottom — steeped everything that is pretty about it in utter disillusion. Imagine.

Ingmar Bergman's New Film Pays Homage to the Family

By VINCENT CANBY

It's Christmas Eve, 1907. Helena Ekdahl, the matriarch of a large, prosperous family in a town very much like Uppsala, Sweden, moves around the family apartment making a hostess's last-minute inspection before the arrival of the guests — her sons, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and old friends. As she passes through the handsome rooms, cluttered with the beloved debris of time, now ablaze in the light of hundreds of candles, she has the manner of a captain followed by his sergeants, except that the sergeants are two elderly housemaids.

Before dismissing the maids, Helena turns on Vega, the grumpy of the two attendants. "Why are you moody?" It's less a question than an imperial accusation against which there is no defense. "I'm not moody," says Vega, who begins to seethe. "Nonsense," says Helena with the easy self-assurance of the powerful, "you're always moody on Christmas Eve." That said, Helena sweeps out of the room to meet her guests, to reminisce with a former lover, to worry about the health of her children and her own awareness of a life now mostly behind her. When she's safely gone, the furious maid snarls with satisfaction, "The old bitch!"

It's a very funny moment and just one of many that early in "Fanny and Alexander," Ingmar Bergman's possibly most serene and imaginative new film, suggests the many levels of intimacy, love, impatience, trust, dependency and friendship that we associate with large families.

This is a most modern, original film work, funny and wise, beyond fleeting fads and fashions.

If not as we know them from life today, then as we know them from the literature of earlier eras.

Large families, at least in America, have all but disappeared if we are to believe most of our novels, plays and films as well as official statistics. Television sitcoms dote on single-parent households, which are populated by smart-talking children, some possibly adopted, and usually equipped with comic doorbells. For the most part movies don't find even the small family unit an especially topical subject, unless the unit, for one reason or another, is coming apart as in "Ordinary People," "Kramer vs. Kramer" and "The Great Santini," each, incidentally, based on a novel. The only contemporary and original American film that deals seriously with family ties is "Tender Mercies," and it has other things on its mind as well.

It may be significant that one of the Swedish director's favorite American television shows is "Dallas," which is really about the American family as a privately held corporation locked into a constant state of proxy war. Still, the great popularity here and abroad of "Dallas" and its imitators must have something to do with a shared longing for close, continuing family ties that are all but impossible today.

The initial appeal of "Fanny and Alexander" is that it is a big, multigenerational family film, and though it is set near the turn of the century, Mr. Bergman has not turned back the clock. This is a most modern, original film work — funny, wise, unhurried, beyond fads and fashions.

There are splendid moments that recall Chekhov, especially one hilarious and bitter late-night bedroom scene between Carl Ekdahl, Helena's second son, a boozing, unhappy professor, and his servile, German-born wife, Lydia. Things get off to a bad start when Carl complains, "My teeth are itching." He accuses Lydia of smelling bad. She isn't insulted, but calmly denies it. He then turns on fate itself. "How is it that one becomes second-rate?" he asks, then moans, in this order of importance, "Oh insomnia, poverty and humiliation!"

Chief among the other characters are Helena's eldest son, Oscar, who runs the Ekdahl theater, which was built by Helena's late husband, a businessman, as a tribute to his wife who had been an actress; Oscar's pretty wife, Emilie, who now is the star of the theater; their children, 10-year-old Alexander and 8-year-old Fanny; Helena's youngest son, Gustav Adolf, a cheerfully randy restaurateur with goat-like goatee; Alma, Gustav Adolf's adoring, understanding wife; Maj, the pretty, lame nanny who becomes Gustav Adolf's mistress, with the approval of everyone in the family; the widowed Bishop Vergerus, who becomes Emilie's second husband; and the sage, always somewhat mysterious Isak Jacob, the old antique dealer and moneylender who, years before, was Helena's lover.

In the course of the little more than 12 months of the story, there is one death, one marriage and two births. As the gothic centerpiece of the film, which is surrounded by love and sunlight, there is the extended sequence in which Emilie, having been widowed, marries the handsome, truth-loving bishop and takes Fanny and Alexander to live in the bishop's palace, which is more terrifying than Mr. Rochester's manor house. In addition to the bishop's frozen-faced mother, his unmarried sister and a possibly crazy maid (played by the same Harriet Andersson who was the noble maid in "Smiles of a Summer Night"), the place is inhabited by an ogre, who remains in an upstairs bedroom, and the ghosts of two dead children. For Alexander there's also bitter corporal punishment as the bishop attempts to beat into him an appreciation for a love that is "pure and strong, not blind and sloppy."

The film is a portrait of the artist not as a young man but as a little boy, Alexander, who sees all and says very little. The film's principal metaphor is theater, which, for Mr. Bergman, represents not artifice but the reality by which the chaos of the outside world can be ordered and, for a short time anyway, comprehended. In "Fanny and Alexander," the Ekdahls are actors in the theater that the protective family unit represents.

Though "Fanny and Alexander" is set in 1907, which appears to be a time of social tranquility, that seems almost to be a narrative convenience. Most definitely the film is not about the good old days. For Helena and Isak, whose love has shimmered down to an enduring friendship, their good old days were 30-40 years ago. When Helena asks Isak if age saddens him, he answers, "No... everything is just getting worse. Worse weather, worse people, worse machines, worse wars. The boundaries are burst, and all the unspeakable things spread out and can never again be checked..."

Every member of the huge cast is excellent. This is ensemble performing of the highest order, but a few of the actors must be mentioned — Gunn Wallgren (Helena), Ewa Fröling (Emilie), Pernilla Wallgren (Maj), Jan Malmjö (the bishop), and Bertil Guve (Alexander).

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AN INCREASING number of prominent Middle East experts in Israel have been arguing recently that PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's commitment to a political process to advance the Palestinian cause is genuine.

They acknowledge that from an Israeli point of view there is still nothing attractive being offered since Arafat and his organization are still implacably committed to the eventual dismantling of Israel. What they stress is that within the Palestinian context there are changes and accommodations with reality taking place which Israeli policy should take into account.

In fact, there are those on the left wing of the Israeli community of "Orientalists," for want of a better term, who say that these changes and the increasing legitimacy and apparent moderation of the PLO in world opinion were the real threat that the government set out to destroy when the IDF invaded Lebanon last summer.

When it comes to analysing the split within the ranks of Arafat's Fatah and the clash with Syrian President Hafez Assad, some of these experts argue that it all stems from the Syrians competing with the Jordanians for influence on Arafat.

"THAT IS a total misunderstanding of what's happening," says Dr. Clinton Bailey, himself an orientalist at Tel Aviv University and the author of the forthcoming *Jordan's Palestinian Challenges 1948-1983*. "As far as the PLO is concerned Jordan plays only a minor role, and



Yasser Arafat (UPI telephoto)

their interest is only to ensure that King Hussein does not go (into an American-sponsored peace process) alone.

Bailey says that Arafat's talks with Hussein were really no more than a "charade," and that they were maintained by the PLO chairman for as long as they were because he was afraid the king would go ahead alone if Arafat disavowed him.

Arafat's "lack of sincerity" about a political solution stems from the PLO's ideology of regaining all of Palestine as the only solution — "and ideology speaks to a lot of Palestinians" — and his realization that his basic constituency can see no hope for itself in this. "It is primarily the refugees of 1948 who make up the ranks of the PLO. If Arafat says yes to a mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza, that simply frightens the refugees who have no real hope of settling there and threatens to split the PLO," says Bailey.

Amman charade

By DAVID RICHARDSON

Bailey is one of the country's leading experts on the Beduin, and he earned himself a reputation as a committed and effective if unorthodox liaison officer with the Palestinian and Shia populations of Southern Lebanon following last year's invasion.

"MINOR geographic changes are important to the Palestinian context," he says, pointing to the differences and rivalry between people from Hebron and Nablus as an example. "The Palestinians in Lebanon are primarily from Galilee and have always had a different orientation from those living in the West Bank. Moreover, anyone under 50 only knows Lebanon. I hardly ever met a refugee who would not have preferred getting Lebanese citizenship and integrating into the Lebanese system — apart from the radicals who are committed to a return to all of Palestine," he says.

Arafat's fostering of the political option, particularly after the evacuation of Beirut, was tactical and largely the result of the loss of his military base. Bailey, again challenging the views of other specialists, argues that the credibility of the PLO was severely diminished in the

eyes of Palestinians, particularly those in the West Bank, following the war.

"Fresh out of Beirut he was confronted with two international initiatives for a political solution — the revised Fez plan and the Reagan initiative. If he rejected those outright in the face of the international support they had, he would have been left with nothing at all and could have lost the West Bankers to Hussein."

Referring to the research he conducted for his book, Bailey concludes that the chances for a Palestinian acceptance of a political option have always been very limited. The best chance they had was early in the Carter administration in 1977 when the U.S. government accepted the recommendations of the Brookings Report. "There was a genuine tendency then to get them involved, and that was even before (Prime Minister Menachem) Begin set up so many new settlements."

"The PLO did not take it. Their point was that time was essentially on their side, and they would not accept despite pressure from the Arabs, including Syria, who wanted to revive the Geneva talks. But that

could happen only if the PLO accepted UN Resolution 242, and that they weren't prepared to do."

Arafat, as opposed to the radicals, advocates maximizing the political support the PLO has gained in the world until the balance of power changes in the Arabs' favour. The radicals fear that as long as the balance is against them they could be sucked into the political process (with the concessions that would entail).

"AND THEN in February the balance of power did change," says Bailey. The Soviet Union extended air cover by deploying SAM-5's in Syria, and the Syrians dug their heels in and are refusing to move their troops out of Lebanon. Internal pressure in Israel is increasing, and there is a chance of putting the PLO back into Beirut.

"The Syrian card is to insist on the Golan. They want to show that they hold the key to any solution that has to do with the Palestinians because they control the Golan," explains Bailey.

The Syrians know that they have the best chance they have had in a long time to have people talk to



Hafez Assad (Camera Press)

them on their terms. To ensure this, they have to ensure that the PLO is lined up behind their strategy of absolute rejectionism, and that Arafat could not be tempted by the Americans.

While the Syrians were setting about implementing their strategy, Arafat directly undermined them by agreeing to withdraw his forces from Lebanon. This apparently took place at his meeting with Lebanese President Amin Gemayel at the non-aligned summit in New Delhi earlier this year. The PLO leader also deliberately slighted Assad by ignoring him totally during his talks with Hussein.

THE SYRIANS have been able to count on the interest Fatah and other PLO fighters have in remaining in Lebanon, where many still have their families. Arafat, who flits around the world and keeps whatever he is about to himself, has lost touch with his men in the field. These men also know that under

the Syrians they are able to operate militarily against Israeli forces in Lebanon. "By comparison Jordan would not even allow them to sneeze," says Bailey.

Arafat feels he cannot serve the Syrians as they want him to at this point for Palestinian interests. "There are so many people pushing him for a political solution, even people in Israel, he has to maintain the front," says Bailey. "He has also never renounced a military solution, which is the orthodox Palestinian line and which is necessary for the unity of the PLO. Finally, if he lines up totally behind the Syrian position, he might increase the readiness of West Bank Palestinians to go for Jordan."

The Syrians do not mind if Arafat is dumped. He is a Palestinian problem since he represents the only thing they have — their unity. Assad wants to control the threat the PLO poses to the rest of the world to ensure that there can be no political solution without Syrian approval.

The Israeli and American mistake was not to use the initial military victory in Lebanon for a consistent diplomatic initiative that did not ignore the Syrians.

"What is emerging now is the absolute centrality of Syria to Palestinian fortunes," Bailey says. Israel cannot eradicate the PLO — only the Syrians can do that. If Israel had talked to the Syrians about peace and the Golan Heights, it could have achieved more from the war."

Protecting your plants

GARDENER'S CORNER / Walter Frankl

WE ARE BEING constantly warned in newspaper articles and on television not to expose ourselves too much to the dangerous influence of direct sunshine in summer. Painful burns and even skin cancer may result from lack of caution, we are told.

Domestic animals know this instinctively: they find shade under roofs or between narrowly planted shrubs, while birds seek shady protection under the cooling branches of tree-tops.

Only the plants can't move. They have to stay put on the spot where they germinated from seeds or were planted by the gardener. Regular watering is helpful, but it can't prevent plants burning, wilting and dying as a result of several hours of direct sunshine in temperatures over 30°C. When these weather conditions prevail, the gardener should step in and provide the vital shade.

Nurseries place all their young and sensitive plants under a roof of wire-fencing and branches to reduce the influence of dangerous sun-rays. They often also install sprinklers or pipes under the roofs to cool the atmosphere with artificial mist. What can the amateur gardeners do?

Buy potted seedlings only (not from the nursery frame). These are available in flower-pots, tins, yoghurt cups or plastic bags. Wet the spot earmarked for planting and plant in the late afternoon only. Water sufficiently, and place a covering tin or pot over the newly planted seedlings for three to four days. Remove the cover occasionally for watering and fresh air. Only plants treated this way will survive and flourish.

Bearded irises. July is the best time in this country to this out, divide and replant bearded (German) irises. In contrast to roses or lilacs, the history of iris cultivation is relatively short and our country is partly involved in it.

An Englishman, Sir Miesbach Foster, began the scientific breeding of the irises in 1880. When missionaries from Palestine sent him some newly discovered species he crossed these with plants from Italy and produced totally new types with taller stems and larger flowers.

If you boast a bed of bearded irises, lift up every second clump of

rhizomes (thick rootstocks), using a garden fork. Clean the plants of all yellow, dry leaves and stems and all soil particles. Cut the roots back to a tenth of about 2-3 cm, and reduce the leaves to a "fan" of about 10-12 cm. Then plant them into a new, sunny position about half a metre apart. The iris rhizomes should be planted on the surface of the ground, or only very slightly below it.

It is a mistake to plant them deeply. When irises become crowded they bloom sparingly, or not at all, and the chances of disease are greater. Give both newly planted and old irises a light dressing of superphosphate, and repeat this feeding monthly until the next flowering season in March-April.

We are just thinning out irises in our own garden at home. Readers who are interested in getting healthy, purple, blooming iris rhizomes free of charge should phone 02-633595 to arrange a date to pick them up.

Welcome ladybirds! This year has seen a remarkable increase in ladybirds visiting Jerusalem gardens. They can be spotted mostly on roses, but also on dahlias, chrysanthemums and fruit-trees.

This little red beetle, with its globular body and seven black spots, is one of the most welcome visitors to the garden because of the wonderful service it renders in destroying innumerable numbers of that troublesome insect, the aphid.

An advertisement from an American gardening journal proclaims the virtues of this natural aphid killer thus: "Ladybugs — Control aphids and harmful insects. Premium quality guaranteed... minimum order 3,000, commercial crate: 50,000 ladybugs."

The name ladybird (sometimes also ladybug or ladyfly) refers to the good deeds of "Our Lady" (the

Virgin Mary from the New Testament). The Germans have a similar name for this beetle, *Marienkäfer* (Mary's beetle) — but nobody has been able to explain to my satisfaction the origin of the popular Hebrew name *parat moshe rabbenu* (Moshe Rabbenu's cow), a name which also appears in Even Shoshan's famous dictionary.

Veteran, Israeli-born natural science teacher Amos Cohen thinks it is a translation from Yiddish. Apparently, "mediæval, Yiddish-speaking ghetto-dwellers, seeking an equivalent of 'Our Lady' (the Holy Virgin of the gentiles), chose Moshe, who led his people out of Egyptian slavery and gave it the Ten Commandments."

But why *parat moshe rabbenu*? Why a cow? Nobody has been able to give me an answer, to date. Perhaps one of our readers can solve the mystery.

I've stopped spraying my garden with malathion and other poisons. *Moshe rabbenu's* flying fortresses will do the job in a healthier and cheaper way. Soon, in accordance with their life-cycle, they will become summer-dormant, awaking in early autumn — just in time to protect the next round of roses.

Tea for plants. I'm not talking about health teas for human beings made from rosehips or mint leaves, but a much more basic species of tea — one for plants. Since plants cannot eat like animals or birds, there's nothing better for them than a nutrient solution of organic matter.

This can be made from animal or bird manure, or from guano. Fill a quarter of a bucket with manure, add ordinary tap-water to 5 cm. below the rim and stir thoroughly for several minutes until the mixture becomes completely dissolved. Cover with a sack for two to three days — and your perfect manure "tea" is ready.

Put about two litres of concentrated manure tea essence into an eight-litre watering can, fill up with tap-water and use for tomatoes, eggplants and peppers, as well as roses, dahlias and other perennials.

A similar "tea" can be produced from peat (sphagnum moss). Peat tea is beneficial for all acidity-loving plants, like azaleas, camellias, cypripediums, Christmas cacti, orchids and ferns.

"Love Apples" Did you plant tomatoes in large tins, as I advised? Now, with the first ripening fruit, and much more to come, you can place the tins between your flower beds and let the green, yellow and red tomatoes add to their decorative value. The mixing of ornamental and edible plants is currently being practised in London's famous Kew Gardens. You can still

plant tomatoes during the whole of July, until the middle of August. The fruit of these summer-planted vegetables will ripen in autumn, just when the cost of tomatoes goes up again.

No cook in Israel today wants to do without tomatoes. They can be eaten in so many ways: raw in salads; cooked as soups or sauces; stuffed with cream cheese; grilled with meat; baked with aubergines; on pizzas and sandwiches; with Gruyère cheese in tomato fondue — and of course — in ketchup.

What is today a common, popular food in Israel, was nearly unknown here about 80 years ago. In Europe, ordinary people regarded tomatoes with deep suspicion. They were thought to be poisonous, because they belonged to the deadly nightshade family — an attitude which persisted in some areas until the beginning of this century.

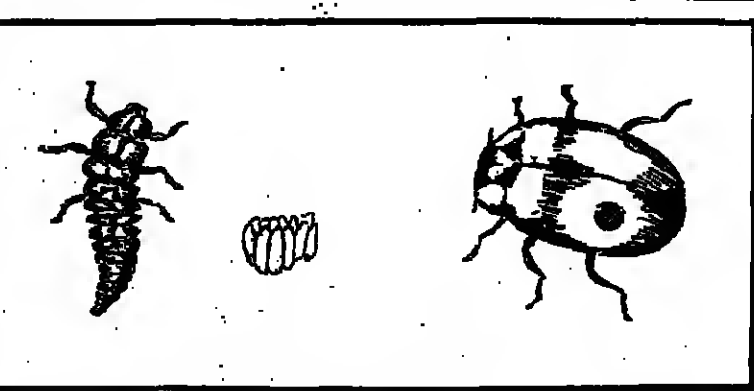
The road from the wild to the cultivated tomato is a very long one. In 1518 Cortez conquered the Aztecs in Mexico and his Spanish soldiers brought not only the gold, but also the first tomato seeds, to Spain. These seeds were not from wild solanums, but from plants which the South American tribes had tamed and propagated for centuries.

When the first tomato plants from Spain and Italy reached France in about 1550, they were called "love apples" (pommes d'amour) owing to their reputation as an aphrodisiac. This was probably the reason that Napoleon's adventurous soldiers brought tomatoes with them when they laid a siege to the fortress of Acre in 1798.

The local Arab population also regarded this fruit as a curiosity rather than a food. In Arabic tomatoes are called *bandarra*, and it is obvious, since the Arabs substitute "b" for "p" that the Arab name derives from the French *pomme d'amour*.

By the end of the 19th century attitudes had changed considerably, and after World War I many local farmers started to grow tomatoes. World War II saw a shortage of this nourishing crop, and in Jerusalem tomatoes disappeared from the greenhouses and could be bought on the black market only.

Sandy soil is not suitable for planting vegetables to the heat of summer, but in medium and heavy ground you may plant melons, cucumbers, beans, leeks, onion beetroot and New Zealand spinach. In open nursery frames (shaded by wire nets and branches) you can sow red and white cabbage, cauliflower and kohlrabi.



The ladybird, with larva (left) and eggs (centre).

Oh, for something new

LISTENING IN / Ze'ev Schol

JUST ABOUT everybody who is anybody at Broadcasting House is on vacation right now. Let's hope they all come back with some sorely needed new ideas or — if the worst comes to the worst — freshen up some of their old ones.

There have been some changes in the programmes, but nothing worth writing home about. I am still waiting for a non-stop, light music, breakfast-to-lunch marathon on at least five days of the week, something I could take to the beach with me.

Once school starts again in two months' time, I would also recommend a new style-book for our radio reporters. Since this looks as if it's going to be another difficult year, how about compiling a new dictionary to help them cope with strikes and political emergencies and do away with such worn-out phrases as "rings a bell" or "should have set off a warning light" or "red line" — or that ever-popular Hebrew quote "lit up a red light," which sounds downright indecent.

I remember a time when red lights were supposed to keep mosquitoes at bay, and Haifa citizens, plagued by the little insects, had such lights installed on their porches and verandas, to the great confusion of foreign sailors (or so the legend goes).

WHILE I'm at it, I wish some of the reporters would tone down their questions. Aggressiveness is not necessarily a hallmark of a good interviewer — and I'm deliberately not mentioning any names. While I'm prepared to accept that almost anything goes in war and journalism and that it is quite legitimate to annoy interviewees with a view to making them blurt out things that might better (from their point of view) have been left unsaid, there's a limit.

SUMMERTIME stock-taking also includes some second thoughts on news reporting of the international scene. There's too little of it. Take the exploits of the spaceship *Challenger* and its crew, it barely gets a mention on the radio. It would have been fascinating for us to learn how a lady fares from a source other

than *Time* magazine — all the more, considering that the second female astronaut about to be catapulted into the void answers to the name of Resnick.

So how about discontinuing the wholesale contemplation of our own navels, and letting us have some more information on what is going on in the outside world? We might even get a bit of our own back, especially via a visit to the BBC, which specializes in forecasting our perdition and extolling our miseries. How about a nightly tally of Britain's unemployed? I, for one, would love to step on some gouty old BBC toes.

ON SECOND thoughts, the BBC is not to blame. Our own reporters exhibit a tendency to wallow in the gloom wholesale. And yet there are little bits of silver lining just waiting to be picked up which go all but ignored.

For example, a short item on a work discipline research project carried out by a West German firm (broadcast last Thursday afternoon) couldn't have amounted to more than a couple of sentences. It emerges that the Germans no longer figure at the head of the international workaholics list. Guess who does? You may not believe this, but, according to the West German report — it's us. We Israelis are now considered the most diligent and dedicated, and whatever is the German equivalent of *ichpatniks*.

I wish this item could have had more substantial coverage. If I could have my way, I would have had this item headlining our news for a full week, at least. After all that has been said about us since 1967, one little untruth can't do much harm — or can it?

REMEMBER the opening lines of Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*: "Christmas won't be Christmas without any presents," Jo said. (or something like that?) I have reached a point in my listening where I believe that a Shabbat can't be a Shabbat without at least one rendition of Danny Raveh's "International Bible Quiz" sketch, starring amongst others, Uri Zohar. This is a supreme compliment to the rabbi, but, once again, you can have too much of a good thing. I now know the entire text by heart, down to the last chant of the triumphant 1971 Bible champion.

If there is nothing new of a similar calibre available, I would suggest that we do without it. It doesn't raise as much as a smile any more. Ditto Yossi Banai's "Shop Talk of Army Cooks" performed by the otherwise-excellent *Hagashash Hahiver* trio, which is already coming out of our ears.

The same applies to Rivka Michaeli, much as I admire her in her role as the nagging wife who will not let poor Yossef catch up on his forty winks. What a waste of prime broadcasting time!

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For registration and further details, call: 03-268311, ext. 28, or 03-268842.
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Chairman, Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee

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Chairman — Judi Widetzky, General Secretary, World Labour Zionist Movement

Speaker — Abba Eban MK
A Society of Sanity and Rationality

Speaker — Dov Ben-Meir MK, General Secretary of Tel Aviv-Yafo Labour Council
The Citizen and His City

Please note that the meeting will begin promptly at 8.00 p.m.
For further information, please call Mr. Chaim Sarid, Tel. 03-282211.

Last-gasp bid for TA bus terminal

By DAVID KRIVINE
Post Economic Correspondent

The resumption of construction in Tel Aviv's skeleton bus terminal by an international consortium is held up, owing to a last-minute bid by Solel Boneh to displace the consortium.

Solel Boneh was a minority shareholder in the Kikar Levinsky Company (KLC) which started building the terminal in 1968 and ran out of funds in 1974, after over 80 per cent of the structure was erected.

The gigantic concrete edifice subsequently remained derelict for close to a decade — partly because the Transport Ministry changed its mind and decided that a single bus station for all Tel Aviv was not a good idea.

Chief sufferers were 700 purchasers of shops in the complex, many of them new immigrants, who sank their life-savings into the scheme.

Six months ago the transport authorities changed their minds a second time. Pressed by Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat and others, who pointed out that there is nothing else to be done with such a heavily encumbered site, the ministry agreed that the premises be used as a terminal after all.

Once this long-standing ban was revoked, the two lawyers appointed as KLC's official receivers, Yehzekel Flumin (former deputy finance minister) and Yisrael Gafny, offered the premises for sale last December, with the proviso that whoever buys it completes the terminal. There was no response, and the deadline was extended from January to April.

At this point Solel Boneh, who had not only been part-owner of the bankrupt Kikar Levinsky Company but also contractors for the building work (and had lost money on that too), intervened, asking for a court

order. They said that the property should be sold to the highest bidder, with no limitation on its final use. In other words, the buyers should not be obligated to produce a bus terminal.

The court rejected this appeal, but added a rider that if someone actually came up with a higher price, the matter could be reconsidered.

Nobody did, though Solel Boneh kept asking for a postponement of the deadline for bid submissions. The final date was extended once more from April to May and then again to June 9. Meanwhile one group had made an offer to complete the terminal.

Partners in the group are the Heftsiba housing company in Jerusalem, belonging to Mordechai Yona (40 per cent); Matityahu Lifshitz, another Jerusalem builder (30 per cent); and Zalman Morgulies, a wealthy British businessman (30 per cent).

According to their lawyer, Shraga Biran, they agreed to buy the site in Levinsky Street for \$5m., and to complete construction at an estimated cost of another \$40m. The contract was signed and the first instalment paid to the receivers.

But the contract needs to be ratified by the court — at which point Solel Boneh came up again, offering to pay 5 per cent more. The

deadline had expired but the judge pronounced that if they would pay 25 per cent more, the contest could be re-opened. They agreed to pay the extra 25 per cent.

The Heftsiba group reacted by lodging an appeal against this decision with the High Court of Civil Appeals. That is where things stand at the moment. Until the hearings are ended and the High Court gives its verdict, the unfinished terminal remains in suspense.

The legal aspect is now *sub judice*. But in some circles two questions are being asked. Half the shares in KLC belonged to two concerns, Solel Boneh and the Egged bus cooperative, which are affiliated to the Histadrut — a non-capitalistic organization whose purpose is to serve the public good.

The KLC went bankrupt, causing losses of tens of million dollars to others. Is it seemly for one of the partners to now demand the right to re-purchase the property at the nominal price of \$6.25m.?

Second, is it proper under the circumstances, and considering Solel Boneh's part-responsibility for the breakdown, that it should submit its bid after the expiry of the deadline, when a contract has been concluded with an outside buyer who signed in good faith and paid the requisite deposit?

Tax collection is up by 26%

Post Economic Reporter

The Finance Ministry collected about IS115.3 billion in taxes during the first quarter of the fiscal year, which ended in June. This represents a 26.2 per cent increase in real terms over tax collection for the same period in fiscal 1982, which was IS38.4 billion.

Figures released by the Treasury yesterday reveal that in June

IS43.6b. in taxes were collected, as compared with IS15b. in June 1982, a 22 per cent increase in real terms.

The large increase in collection reflects the considerable increase in taxes caused by the new levies introduced by the Treasury since last summer to finance the war in Lebanon, the payments to Orthodox institutions demanded by the religious parties and other coalition obligations.

Income tax authorities have collected about IS64.4b. in the last three months, about 25 per cent more in real terms than the IS21.7b. collected in April-June 1982.

Customs and taxes on imports brought in about IS16.1b. since the beginning of the fiscal year, as compared to IS5.4b. during the same period in 1982.

The collection of Value Added Tax also registered a considerable increase, from IS8.8b. in April-June 1982 to IS26.7b. in April-June 1983. This represents a 28.1 per cent increase in real terms.

Since its renewal some months ago, travel tax has brought in some IS214 million to the Treasury, while the levy on the purchase of foreign currency has brought IS369b.

Industrial production down in year's first quarter

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Industrial production, excluding diamonds, fell by 3.5 per cent during the first quarter of the year, compared to the last quarter of 1982. The Central Bureau of Statistics announced yesterday.

The drop in industrial production comes after six months of growth during the second half of 1982. Industrial production grew by 1 per cent in the third quarter of last year and by 3 per cent in the October-December period.

The decrease in production registered during the first three months of the year was not uniform. While industrial sectors such as electronics and electrical products increased by 14 per cent other sectors suffered a marked decrease.

The production of leather and its products went down by 22 per cent, the production of clothes dropped by 9 per cent, wood and its products by 8 per cent, basic metals by 11 per cent and metal products by 6 per cent.

The drop in industrial production was not reflected in the number of workers employed in industry, which remained stable, registering a .5 per cent increase. Despite this, the number of days worked registered a drop similar to that of production, 3.5 per cent.

While employment remained stable and production fell, daily wages to workers registered a 28 per cent increase during the first three months of the year, which represents a 5.3 per cent increase in daily wages after taking inflation into account.

TA shares rose 7% in June

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The value of stocks on the Tel Aviv Stock Market rose by 7 per cent in June to stand at \$15.8 billion, according to Securteam, a financial consultancy firm.

All sectors rose, except land development which fell by eight per cent.

The commercial banking sector continued, as in May, to constitute 55 per cent of all stocks traded.

The value of all other sectors together, which fell by 30 per cent during the past six months, were only 45 per cent of the total value of all shares.

The "Big Ten" at the end of June were: Hapoalim, \$2,396m., up 24 per cent since the beginning of the year; Leumi, \$2,166m., up 22 per cent; I.D. \$1,138m., up 28 per cent; Discount, \$792m., up 21 per cent; Mizrahi, \$646m., up 55 per cent (the largest increase of all since the beginning of the year); I.D.B. Development, \$562m., up 34 per cent; Clal, \$490m., down by five per cent; Dead Sea, \$323m., down 57 per cent; First International, \$309m., down 19 per cent; and Solel Boneh, \$290m., down 39 per cent.

Among commercial banks, the worst performance since the beginning of the year was turned in by FIBI, down 64 per cent, followed by Maritime, down 58 per cent.

Mizrahi rose the most, 55 per cent. As for mortgage banks, Merav lost 83 per cent, while Binyan gained 233 per cent, since the beginning of the year.

Among insurance companies, Arieh fell in value by 69 per cent, followed by Haseheli, down by 68 per cent.

The land development company, Ispro, fell by 86 per cent, but another development company, Sahaf rose by 33 per cent.

In the industrial sector, Ata lost 93 per cent, but Palestine Canning rose by 100 per cent.

Among investment companies, Ampa lost 76 per cent, but Leumi Investment rose by 40 per cent.

WHAT'S ON

Notices in this feature are charged at \$105.10 per line including VAT. Insertion every day costs \$3660.40 including VAT, per month. Copy accepted at offices of The Jerusalem Post and all recognized advertising agents.

JERUSALEM MUSEUMS
Israel Museum. Exhibitions: George Segal, sculptures; The Photographs of Manuel Alvarez Bravo; Oil Lamp section; Permanent collection of Judaica, Art and Archaeology; Primitive Art from the Museum's collection (Maremont Pavilion); Looking at Pictures (Ruhk Youth Wing); Permanent exhibition in Pre-History Hall; Farinelli and Albertini Sing (Vitali); 18th cent. Venetian Opera; Caravaggio's "Boy with a Basket of Fruit"; "New York City, model from 18th century"; church: Torah Finials (Rimonim) produced in San'a by Yemenite Jewish goldsmiths (beginning 20th cent.); At the Rockefeller Museum: Kadesh-Barnea, Judean Kingdom Fortress; Watercolor: Wonderful World of Paper; Visiting Hours: Main Museum 10-5, At 11: Guided tour in English, 11 and 3:30; Film, "Tom Sawyer." 2: Special screening of film on sculptor George Segal. 3:30: Special guided tour of Shrine of the Book.

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2. Mount Scopus tours 11 a.m. from the Brumman Reception Centre, Sherman Park, Buses 9 and 28 to last stop. Further details: Tel. 02-582819.
Americana Mizrahi Women. Free Morning tours — 8 Alkalai Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-699222.

Tel Aviv MUSEUMS
Tel Aviv Museum. Exhibitions: Expressionists. — Bethheim Collection. Jewish Expressionism in Berlin. A. R. Penck — Expedition to the Holy Land (Graphic Portfolio). Holmer Lensky: Photographs 1910-1947. Collections — Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, 20th Century Art. Israel Art: New Acquisitions 1982-83. 11 Sculptures and Typograph — Israel Museum.
Visiting Hours: Fri. closed, Sat. 10-2; 7-10. Sun-Thur. 10-10:15. Hebrew Rehabilitation Pavilion. Visiting hours: Sun-Thur. 10-1; Tue. 10-1; 4-7.

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Rehovot
The Weizmann Institute. Grounds open to public from 8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. Visitors invited to see audio-visual programme on Institute's research activities, shown regularly at 11:00 a.m. and 3:15 p.m. Friday 11 a.m. only. Tours of the Weizmann House every half hour from 10:00 to 3:30 p.m. Sunday is Thursday. Normal fee for admission to Weizmann House. No visits on Saturdays and holidays.

Which, where, why and how

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

QUESTION: Who is liable to pay the Peace for Galilee sales levy on foreign securities?

ANSWER: All Israeli residents including temporary residents, new immigrants or permanent residents are liable to the 2 per cent sales levy on foreign securities. Non-residents, however, are exempt from the tax.

QUESTION: What is the minimum permissible share purchase?

ANSWER: IS300 nominal worth of shares is the allowable minimum. However, a number of banks allow their customers to buy their own shares in smaller quantities.

QUESTION: How did the commercial bank shares perform in June when taking into account the devaluation of the shekel?

ANSWER: All of the big banks saw their shares advance by considerably higher margins. Union Bank shares yielded nearly twice the rate of the devaluation of the shekel.

QUESTION: I have a complaint against my bank and I would like to know to whom I can turn to help me?

ANSWER: The Bank of Israel regulates banking practices. You can send your complaint to the Public Inquiries Officer, Examiner of Banks department, Bank of Israel, Hakiryat, Jerusalem.

QUESTION: I am an American who would like to invest in Israeli shares. How do I go about it?

ANSWER: Israeli banks which have branches or subsidiaries will be happy to assist you. Leumi Securities, a Bank Leumi subsidiary, is particularly active in the field. You could also write directly to individual banks or brokerage firms in Israel.

QUESTION: My son is studying overseas. Can I transfer money to him to assist him with his expenses?

ANSWER: In keeping with the 1977 liberalization of foreign currency regulations, one may transfer up to \$3,000 a year towards the support of a close relative abroad. This arrangement has to be attested by a written declaration to the bank.

Most mutual funds beaten by inflation

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Only three of the 96 mutual funds had a yield above the rise in the cost-of-living in the first half of the year, according to Meitav, a financial consultancy firm.

Its calculations are based on a predicted 6 per cent hike to June's index, bringing the total rise so far to 54 per cent. The funds which beat this figure were Etrog, which gained

58.7 per cent, Tapuz, up by 55.9 per cent, and Zameret, which rose by 55.7 per cent.

The funds which produced the best performances concentrated mainly on foreign currency, indexed bonds, or the shares of the big banks.

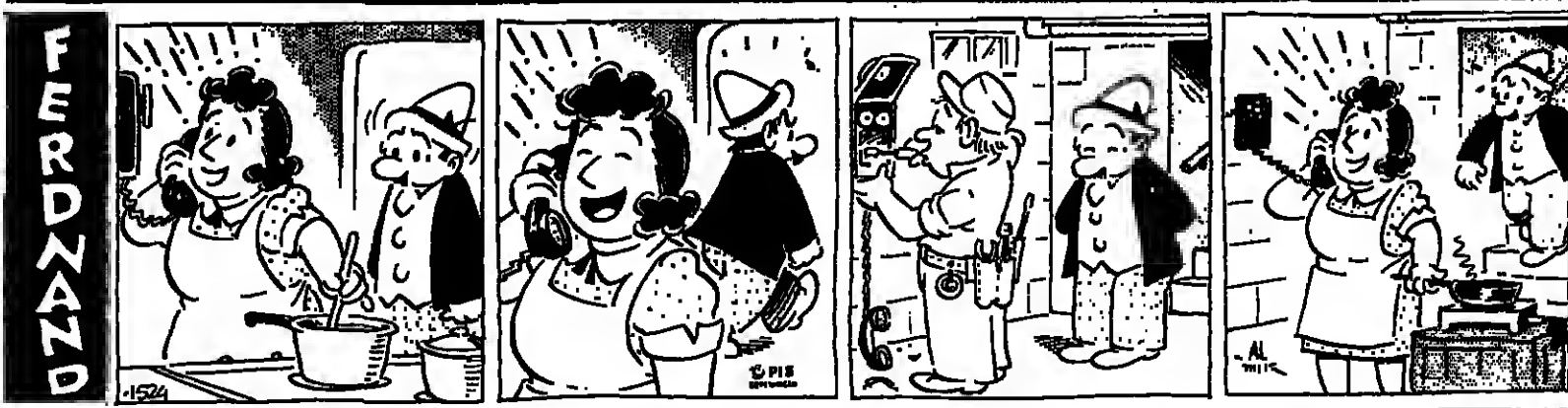
The nine funds which lost most heavily, all specialized in stocks. They were: Ronit, Anan, Danit, Natif, Hadas, Idit, Gil, Safir, and Adom. Their losses ranged from 4.5 per cent to 59.9 per cent.

Sales Executive

International Company seeks sales executive to lead a major campaign in Israel.

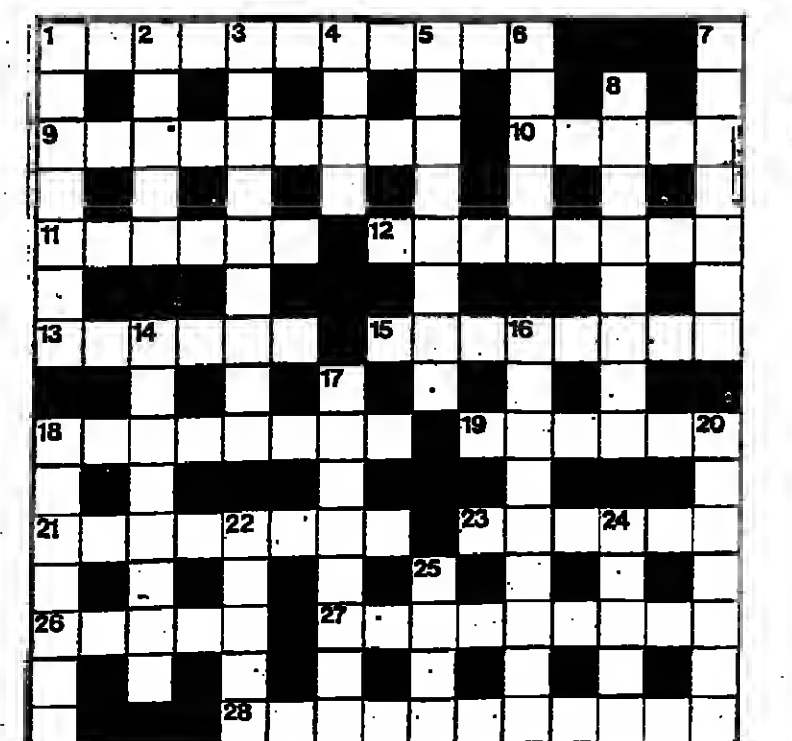
Good English is essential. Proven ability in the local market. Good salary and commission scheme. A rare opportunity to join an expanding international organization acknowledged as the leader in its field. Overseas training given. Preference will be given to candidates with a knowledge of computers/software.

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 - Calculating power (9)
 - Statesman in Malawi and in the British Academy (5)
 - Amendment of one act relating to lead pollution (6)
 - Let Shakespeare go for anti-predestination belief (4, 4)
 - Amphibian dove (6)
 - Moral restraints calling for simple measures (8)
 - Young Abraham Lincoln training as a steward? (5, 3)
 - Trap which strengthened Bruce's resolve (6)
 - Introduces idea as slogan for right-wing Laborites (5, 3)
 - Cunning little Edward apparently got Tom's back up (6)
 - Pole installed in area used for sports (5)
 - He tells how to draw forth question to the prophet? (5, 6)
 - Death theory developed recently (5, 5, 5)
- DOWN**
- Offer to resist (4, 3)
 - Fair illumination (5)
 - A hearty stimulant (9)
 - Day of the year on which over-theaters meet (4)
 - The old Blue Riband contest between USA and USSR (4, 4)
 - Sappers support story which can be fabricated (5)
 - Cannons of pop brew best ale (7)
 - In the end the name should be given right (8)
 - Consort with flowers round discoloured hair-style (3, 5)
 - Capital charge in the High Court? (5, 4)
 - Pa involved with couple for the sake of the common lot (8)
 - Rasher way to reduce expenditure (3, 4)
 - Bears protection from contrary lady most after bull's hatred (3, 4)
 - Jump from the word go (5)
 - Detestable death throes (5)
 - Tel stand for newly planned test (4)



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QUICK CROSSWORD

- ACROSS**
- Retail premises
 - Labradorized
 - Write music
 - Lost colour
 - Small civet
 - Made of pottery
 - Concept
- DOWN**
- Sacred songs
 - Body building food
 - Deeduce
 - Locally prevalent
 - Contempt
 - From here
 - Proclamation
 - Orient
 - Surface impression
 - Pertinent outburst
 - Examination by doctor
 - Exhaust
 - Desert heavens
 - Painting stand
 - Passage between
 - pewa
 - Melancholy

Yesterday's Solutions

BUSINESS LETTER
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
KANGAROO OTTAWA
E R O I N S
RESOLUTE AMUSE
Y T V H A M E
P T V T T S
A R T H M E T I C
L P R C V W L
L E S S O N P L A N E T
S A N I T Y N
O B L I G E A M B U S H
U V E A U T E
T M E E D S E X A M I N E R

Quick Solution

ACROSS: 1. Shined, 4. Elated, 7. Adulation, 8. Face, 9. Good, 11. Agree, 12. Roubin, 14. Myria, 15. 22. Sinner, 23. Thyme, 25. Dice, 26. Barn, 27. Edifice, 28. Bracco, 29. Boater. **DOWN:** 1. Suffer, 2. 21. Excuse, 22. Deluge, 4. Steem, 5. Agave, 6. Orvedic, 7. Acute, 8. Nocturnal, 11. Allot, 12. Eyrie, 15. Odd Job, 16. Scape, 17. Smooth, 18. Arsenal, 22. Epic, 23. Brio.

Shareake an abrupt nosedive

TEL AVIV — The market took a nosedive in all sectors of trading yesterday. The General Index, commercial banks and 4% included insurance and investment securities margins of 5% or more. These were 18 issues which up on the "sell" side only. Single equity was registered buyers only, while one was able to record a gain of 5%.

The Me\$5.0 debuted yesterday at a little below the level of the previous day, at the exchange as the new shareholder have preferred a better day after of over 151.5m, while the shares were enough to a share to 27.8% below the price.

Eftan was successful as they debuted with 39.1% premium over their price. However, with the end of the owners of the company continue to control 75% outstanding shares.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MORGENTHAU

no one really made any serious money on the Eftan shares. The shares, it will be recalled, were heavily oversubscribed and bidders received less than 1% of their orders. In fact they received 0.77 of 1%. Therefore anyone who placed a request for IS100,000 worth of shares was accorded IS770 worth and yesterday's 39.1% gain brought the value of such holdings to IS1,071. "It's hard to make a shekel," said one investor.

However, in spite of some hard knocks most new issues that came out in June did fairly well and one even doubled in price.

The commercial bank group eased yesterday by 0.08%. This unusual drop was occasioned by sharp falls in the Danot, First International Bank and FIBI shares. Danot 1.0 was down by 10% while

the 5.0 shares were clipped for a loss of 6.6%. The shares of the First International Bank were 5.4% lower while FIBI was down by 6.4%. The big three banks, by contrast, were ahead by their customary gains. The same was true of the Israel General Bank and United Mizrahi.

Mortgage bank issues as well as those of specialized financial institutions were the only sectors to come through the session with gains.

Insurance issues subordinated to lower levels with 10% losses being chalked up by Ararat 0.5, Has-sneh(B), Menora 0.1 and Sahar. Most of the others in the group also declined but by considerably smaller margins.

The service and trade group was generally lower. Coral Beach shares were 7% lower while the attendant option was down by nearly 16%. Magor and Gali Zohar were hit by 10% losses.

The land development, real estate and citrus plantation group was also mostly lower. Newcomer to the exchange Amoonim, which had risen by nearly 4% since its issue price, saw its shares fall by 10.1%, while the Amnoonim option was 15.1% lower. Cohen Development was unchanged but the option recorded a 13.8% loss.

Industrials also took it on the chin. Alliance Tires advanced by 2%. Elron, which published good financial results, was up by 2.6%. However, the vast majority of industrial shares were down by as much as 8-10%.

The investment company group of shares was also down by a considerable margin. The news that the Minister of Finance wishes to cancel the special tax privileges currently enjoyed by the Israel Corporation begot to cause serious doubts whether the Israel Corporation will not back out from its takeover of the Israel Corporation. In any case investors became jittery and the Israel Corporation shares were hard hit. The 1.0 shares were 6.4% lower while the 5.0 shares were down by 10%. The 10.0 and 50.0 issues, were down by margins of 10%. In an apparently "sympathetic reaction" the Israel Corporation was down 8.1%.

After the market had closed analysts said they saw few reasons for the market to drop so sharply. The fact that the Treasury may have to levy new taxes certainly was not, anything new and should not have caused such a drop. The impending arrival of the U.S. Secretary of State, George Shultz to the area was also not an event which could be considered as harmful to the market. However, the consensus appeared to be that these tidbits and the lack of any good news, influenced investors to turn sellers.

Commercial Banks

| Bank | Price | Change | % |
|----------|-------|--------|------|
| IDB p | 2500 | +1000 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.1 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.2 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.3 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.4 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.5 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.6 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.7 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.8 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.9 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |
| IDB p.10 | 2471 | +60 | +1.2 |

Mortgage Banks

| Bank | Price | Change | % |
|-----------|-------|--------|------|
| Admon 0.1 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 0.2 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 0.3 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 0.4 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 0.5 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 0.6 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 0.7 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 0.8 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 0.9 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |
| Admon 1.0 | 2600 | +150 | +5.8 |

Insurance

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 0.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(B) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 0.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(A) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 0.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(C) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Industrials

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|----------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Elron | 1800 | +45 | +2.5 |
| Alliance Tires | 1800 | +45 | +2.5 |
| Coral Beach | 1800 | -135 | -7.5 |
| Magor | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Gali Zohar | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 0.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(D) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 0.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Land Development

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|-------------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Amoonim | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Cohen Development | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 0.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(E) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 0.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(F) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Real Estate

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 0.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(G) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 0.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(H) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 1.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(I) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Service & Utilities

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 1.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(J) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 1.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(K) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 0.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 1.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(L) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Investment & Holding

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 1.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(M) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 0.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 1.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(N) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 1.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(O) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Land Development

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 1.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(P) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 1.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(Q) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 1.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(R) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Real Estate

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 2.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(S) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 2.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(T) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 2.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(U) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Service & Utilities

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 2.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(V) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 2.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(W) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 2.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(X) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Investment & Holding

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 2.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(Y) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 2.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(Z) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 1.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 2.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AA) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Land Development

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 2.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AB) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 1.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 3.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AC) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 3.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AD) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Real Estate

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 3.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AE) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 3.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AF) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 3.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AG) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Service & Utilities

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 3.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AH) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 3.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AI) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 3.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AJ) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Investment & Holding

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 3.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AM) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 3.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AN) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 4.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AO) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Land Development

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 4.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AR) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 4.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AS) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 2.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 4.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AT) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Land Development

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 4.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AU) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 3.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 2.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 4.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AV) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 3.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 3.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 4.6 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AW) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Real Estate

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 4.7 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AX) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 3.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 3.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 4.8 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AY) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 3.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 3.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 4.9 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(AZ) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Service & Utilities

| Company | Price | Change | % |
|--------------|-------|--------|-------|
| Ararat 5.0 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(BA) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 3.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 3.3 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 5.1 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(BB) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Menora 3.5 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Sahar 3.4 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Ararat 5.2 | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |
| Has-sneh(BC) | 1800 | -180 | -10.0 |

Investment & Holding

| | | | |
|------------------|------|------------|------|
| Trom. op 1 | 1681 | - | - |
| Yach | 1000 | 86 | -11 |
| Yach op | 835 | 5 | -65 |
| Yonmar 1 | 821 | - | +1 |
| Yon 5 | | no trading | |
| Yitzhar 1 | 205 | 213 | -11 |
| Yitzhar 5 | 151 | 231 | -12 |
| Yitzhar op 1 | 93 | 60 | -12 |
| ZionCables 1 | 2170 | 29 | +20 |
| ZionCables 5 | 480 | 122 | n.e. |
| ZionCables op | 195 | 70 | -38 |
| Chal Electronics | 1098 | 123 | -122 |
| Leumi | 128 | 11 | -91 |
| LevDin 4 | 543 | 115 | n.e. |
| Modul Ind. | 218 | 184 | -24 |
| Wolfson 1 | 1888 | 44 | -152 |
| Wolfson 5 | 840 | 9 | -3 |
| Mollet B r | 2140 | 3 | +50 |
| M.L.T. 1 | 274 | 868 | - |
| M.L.T. 5 | 172 | 380 | -6 |
| Gilad | 300 | 300 | - |

Opinion

Ari Roth
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Tammuz 23, 5743 • Ramadan 24, 1403

Lebanese tangle

CAN THE DEADLOCK over the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Lebanon still be broken through negotiation? President Reagan apparently believes that it can, or he would not be sending his Secretary of State, George Shultz, from Pakistan on a swing through Middle Eastern capitals — Riyadh, Jerusalem, Beirut, and, probably, Damascus as well. But the immediate prospects do not seem to be very pleasing.

For several weeks now U.S. special envoy Philip Habib has been advising the administration, and Congressional leaders, that the only hope of inducing Syria to pull its forces, and the PLO's, from Lebanon lies in a unilateral Israeli withdrawal to the international border. Such a show of Israeli liberality, he has reasoned, would produce irresistible Arab pressure on Syria — and the PLO — to follow suit.

At first Mr. Habib's idea was denied any official endorsement. Washington remained committed to the simultaneous withdrawal of all foreign armies, as stipulated in the Israel-Lebanon agreement. At the same time efforts were exerted to persuade Israel to drop its plans for "redeployment" — meaning a partial unilateral pullback — which might, so it was argued, reduce the pressure on Syria and the PLO to leave.

It did not take Washington very long, however, to realize that President Hafez Assad's opposition to the Israel-Lebanon agreement was no mere tactical ploy. Also, Israel for its part was leaving no doubt that, in the circumstances, it would go through with redeployment in the south.

In the light of all this, Mr. Habib's proposal — though in some measure a counsel of desperation — must have seemed at least worth exploring.

At a recent meeting of the National Security Council, as we now know from the disclosure in the Washington *Middle East Policy Survey* newsletter, President Reagan and Secretary Shultz gave Mr. Habib the go-ahead to raise his proposal with Israel's leaders in Jerusalem. This he did at a meeting with Premier Begin, Defence Minister Arens and Foreign Minister Shamir last Monday. The Israeli response, understandably, was instantaneous total rejection. Israel would stick by the text of the agreement with Lebanon. It was under no obligation to make any further concessions, in the vain hope that they would have a softening effect on Syria.

When news of this encounter was let out in Jerusalem late last week, following the disclosure in Washington, Mr. Habib's initiative came widely to be interpreted as a radical departure in American policy, which Israel could not tolerate.

This the governments of both the U.S. and Israel have since then sought to deny, if only to prevent a backsliding in relations on the eve of Mr. Begin's scheduled visit with Mr. Reagan. There was no intention to apply any pressure on Israel to buy the proposal, the Americans have said. Besides, the Israelis have contended, the proposal was only one of several ideas floated by Mr. Habib.

Be that as it may, it is obvious that Mr. Habib's initiative has been shot down by Mr. Begin. On Wednesday the ministerial committee on security is due to examine several redeployment plans prepared by the general staff. Mr. Shultz, who will start his talks here the following day, is thus to be presented with a virtual *fait accompli*.

There is no indication that the committee will weigh the advantages and disadvantages — to Israel itself — of redeployment, only its several possible variants. The official assumption is that there exists a national consensus about a 45 km. security belt in Southern Lebanon. But the true consensus refers to a terrorist-free area, not to a more-or-less permanent occupation zone — a "northern bank," as it has already come to be called.

Whether such a zone is worth keeping, even in the face of Syrian refusal to budge, still needs to be demonstrated.

The U.S. connection

By SHEVAH WEISS

ONE OF THE most paradoxical phenomena in Israeli politics is the ambivalent and somewhat self-righteous attitude of the dovish radical Left Wing — of which I am a member — towards the United States.

This attitude has once again manifested itself since the signing of the Lebanese-Israeli-American agreement, in the form of criticism against our taking the "American interest" into consideration, and cynical comments on the role which the U.S. plays in the geopolitics of our region.

The same people who welcomed the "Pax Americana" several years ago, when it resulted in a settlement with Egypt, are now turning their backs on U.S. efforts to salvage something from the mess left by the Lebanese war — efforts which are not motivated by any imperialistic designs, but are in the interests of pacifying the region and keeping the Soviet Union at bay.

The same people who, several months ago, attacked the government, as well as some of the Alignment leaders, for failing to welcome the Reagan Plan — and argued in favour of the American president's right to initiate peace and compromise in the region — today refuse to accept the consequences of the deep and vital, if informal, alliance between ourselves and the U.S.

While Syria describes the Lebanese agreement as an Israeli-American-Christian conspiracy, some of my colleagues are close to describing it as an American-Saudi-Lebanese conspiracy, for which our soldiers are being asked to pay the price in blood.

Those were some of the reactions I heard amongst my dovish friends after the American Administration had requested Israel not to take any hurried steps of unilateral withdrawal before all direct and indirect, overt and secret efforts being made by the U.S. to bring about the implementation of the whole agreement, both in letter and spirit, have been exhausted.

I do not know whether the U.S. has any chance of success. Recent American pronouncements have

not been optimistic, and I am as sceptical as the next person as to Syria's intentions and whether the Americans have any levers to move the Syrians.

Yet I do believe that the Americans are making and will make every effort to deliver the goods — not in order to please us, but to serve their own interests, which include total Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, under suitable conditions.

The Americans have not asked us to stay in Lebanon to further their own imperialistic goals (as the Syrians might have us believe) but to create conditions which will enable our withdrawal without our regressing to where we were 13 months ago.

NOW, WHATEVER I and my friends might feel about American policies elsewhere in the world, we must in all honesty admit that U.S. policy in our region, irrespective of which party happens to be in power, has been based on principles and political goals which are somewhere between those professed by the Alignment doves and Shell.

I am not so naive as to suspect that the Americans have secretly turned socialist (not that it is so clear what a "socialist foreign policy" is), and the general ideological framework which has moulded their current policy is certainly not that which motivates Israeli left-wing radicals.

Nevertheless, these are facts: the U.S. has never recognized Israel's legal right to annex any of the territories occupied in 1967 without the full agreement of the other side; it has not been willing to recognize the reunification of Jerusalem (which Mapam has) and has not even recognized Israeli sovereignty over West Jerusalem; it rejects all Jewish settlement beyond the Green Line — and even though it has never objected as vocally to settlement along the Jordan Valley Rift as it does to settlement in Judea and Samaria, it has never accepted the Allon Plan.

Furthermore, the U.S. condemns any use of force against the Palestinians in the occupied territories. Is anyone about to offer the American

Administration a membership card in Shell?

Nevertheless, there might be those in my camp who object to our being so closely aligned to a power whose global policies are objectionable from a social-democratic point of view, even if its policy vis-à-vis the Arab-Israeli conflict is not. But my dovish friends follow a rather bohemian line, spiced with a leaning towards "positive neutralism," which is anti-American without being pro-Soviet, and which is all very nice — except that unfortunately such an option isn't open to us today.

Leaving aside, for the moment, the question of our massive dependence on American economic and military aid, there is only one way we could free ourselves, if we so wished, from our total dependence on American diplomatic and political support (it is the U.S. which vetoes anti-Israel resolutions at the UN Security Council, and the U.S. which is our only current means of trying to achieve some sort of arrangement with Syria): a return to the Geneva Conference, or some other framework which would include the Soviet Union.

MY OWN PERSONAL feeling is that, were the Soviet Union to take a more moderate position vis-à-vis Israel and be willing to advocate a little more than only unilateral Israeli withdrawal to the Green Line, unaccompanied by any Arab concessions, then perhaps the Geneva Conference ought to be renewed.

On this point I have great respect for Yossi Sarid's intellectual honesty, when he insists on the importance of seeking a way to hold a dialogue with the Soviet Union.

But all those who nurture a cynical, anti-American stance without showing any willingness to talk with the Soviets are either naive or dishonest.

Whether a neutralist orientation is or is not a practical choice which Israel might in the long run have, it is certainly not an option for the immediate future. Furthermore, for better or for worse, we have been on the receiving end of vast sums of

Dry Bones



American economic and military aid (\$2.9 billion per annum) which does bind us — not least of all morally — to the U.S.

While I am firmly among those who would like to see this unhealthy dependence on the U.S. reduced, anyone who believes that we can go on treating the U.S. as a milch cow and at the same time spit in its face when it requests that we take its interests into account, is being not only unrealistic, but indecent as well.

In addition, not everyone in the U.S. believes that the administration should continue its generous handouts. Some doubt Israel's strategic value; others do not see why the U.S. should continue to support Israel so massively if it refuses to take American interests into consideration and insists on following its own line, no matter what the U.S. might feel about it.

The economic situation in the U.S., including widespread unemployment, is a further factor working against the same magnitude of aid being given to Israel as in the past; and if the Ad-

ministration has more troops into Lebanon, it is void of credit by a practical withdrawal, anti-Israeli and resentment about it is sure to mount.

SO, LET US try to get out of Lebanon as soon as we can; let us try to open negotiations with the Soviet Union — let us insist that no vital interests are need in our duty.

Finally — for God's sake — get out of Lebanon as soon as we can; let us try to open negotiations with the Soviet Union — let us insist that no vital interests are need in our duty.

And let us be honest in our argument; refrain from spitting on from which we drink.

Shevah Weiss is a professor of science at Haifa University. Party MK.

Distorted values

By DAVID SCHWAM-BAIRD

standards and policies as any of the Western powers.

This is not to say that Israel has to be an economic vassal to the U.S. But it does mean that Israel's economic policies have to take into account the extent to which it is subsidized, and that it does not act in a political vacuum. A reasonable standard of living is attainable, but it does not have to foster illusions about matching American lifestyles. We are independent neither politically nor economically, yet we demand to live at a level which only a certain amount of independence can guarantee.

THIS ATTITUDE, that we deserve, individually and nationally, a status on par with the West takes every conceivable form. It expresses itself both in the government's reckless economic and political policies and on the personal level, whether by financial speculation, foreign travel or acquisition of expensive luxuries somehow considered indispensable.

The assumption that we have a

right to live wildly beyond our means can perhaps be explained by the objective Israeli reality, which is characterized by inflation, the dearth of essentials like home mortgages, the burdens of the security needs of the state. The difficulties of the society can express themselves only in a sort of defiance of that same bitter reality. This phenomenon, while dangerous, is understandable.

These trends, however, have led to expectations that nations richer than Israel would hesitate to promise to their citizens. Thus do luxuries become jealously guarded "necessities," and material demands become matters of life and death.

THE PARADOX of the dramatic nature of the doctors' action is this: one can explain their hunger strike within the context of Israel's expectations. But the context itself, this overextended and unrealistic system of expectations and values, is unjustifiable. It is this entire context which has to be radically changed. One cannot start with the doctors as a sacrificial example of the job which the government itself has to initiate. The severity of the doctors' strike is not the disease; it is the symptom.

The conditions of the doctors that drove them to such extreme action must have an explanation that goes beyond the limited context of the strike. The answer to the problem is not going to be found in Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's simplistic equation which says that if the government fails to say no to the doctors, the rest of the wage system will fall like dominoes.

The government and the electorate as a whole (including the opposition, which also seems io-

capable of looking beyond the total value of issues), have said no to themselves, and more fundamental and long way.

If the medical system's quality-of-life issues are a priority than the fiscal and reckless settlement of the government, we might the fundamental values of society stand a chance of conforming with reality.

THE DOCTORS' hunger signified a desperation beyond reason. The grievances of the doctors needed to be dealt with both sides behaving in a more commensurate with the situation.

The writer is a member of Kibbutz

POSTSCRIPTS

PS. FUNNY. WE ALWAYS THOUGHT IT WAS THE KNESSET. The world's longest-running comedy play, *No Sex, Please, We're British*, marked its 5,000th London performance recently with a champagne party for cast members, past and present.

The three — which actually has no sex — has been seen by 3.5 million people in the past 12 years and has grossed over £5 million.

It opened to poor reviews on June 3, 1971, at the Strand Theatre but is still going strong after transferring to the Garrick Theatre last year.

Producer John Gale recalled the agony of that first night: "The audience did not laugh or react. It just did not take off. Then the reviews were universally bad until Harold Hobson wrote a glowing tribute in *The Sunday Times*."

The show became a favourite for tour groups visiting London, the same kind of audience that has made Agatha Christie's *The Mousetrap* — now in its 31st year on the London stage — the world's longest-running play.

Written by Anthony Marriott and the late Alistair Foot, the plot of *No Sex* revolves around a young married couple mistakenly inundated with pornography.

PS. NOW HEAR THIS. — "The budget must be balanced, the state coffers filled, national debt reduced, and inflated bureaucracy lessened in order to prevent the bankruptcy of our country. And the population must be taught to work..."

From the Finance Ministry? From the opposition? No, from Cicero (106-43 BCE).

J.N.

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READERS' LETTERS

RIGHTEOUS GENTILES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Permit me a correction of your news item of May 30 on the Righteous Gentiles (whom we prefer to term "Righteous Among the Nations").

The Yad Vashem Law was enacted in 1953, not 1962. The latter date corresponds to the inauguration of the Avenue of the Righteous and the planting of the first trees.

The figures quoted (4,704 total Righteous persons) represents the period ending 31.3.1982. The figure for today is considerably higher — closer to 6,000.

All in all, the news item on the Dutch honorees was faithful to the facts. Yad Vashem appreciates the publicity given to the Righteous non-Jews (a chapter in Holocaust studies neglected in the past) who, at the risk of their own lives, came to the help of the Jewish people during one of their most difficult periods in history.

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EDUCATED MAN

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Anyone acquainted with the knowledge and background of Moshe Sharon will know that he has forgotten more about the Arabs and their culture than Chaim Bernat will ever know.

The latter is a perfect example of the truism that there is no one more uneducated than an educated man, once he gets off the subject he is educated in.

MEIR ABELSON

Jerusalem.

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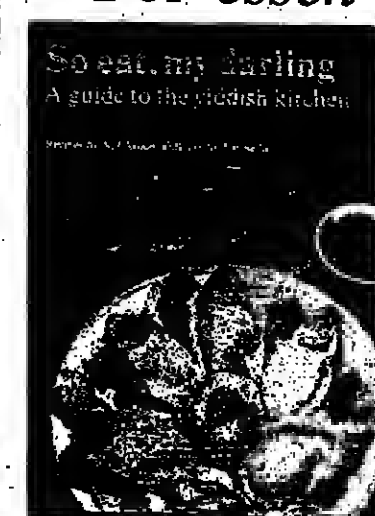
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